PRICE AND SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Single issue $1 00 6/ 300 fr
Yearly subscription $3 50 21/ 1 000 fr

Subscriptions should be addressed to
Our agent in your country (see list at the end of the *Bulletin*) or to Unesco 19 avenue Kléber Paris 16

Opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Unesco

Correspondence arising from this Bulletin should be addressed to The Director-General Unesco 19 avenue Kléber Paris 16e and marked Attention Department of Social Sciences (Bulletin)

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Printed in France

U N E S C O
INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN
A QUARTERLY BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY UNESCO
VOL. IV NO 4 1952

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE PRESENT ISSUE

Dr André Bertrand Director of Research at the National School of Administration Paris
Dr Jean B Duroselle Professor at the University of the Saar
Dr Roger Girod Centre for Sociological Research on Human Relations Geneva
Dr Jean Gottmann Professor at Princeton University New Jersey
Dr John N Hazard Professor at Columbia University New York
Dr Melville J Herskovits Professor at North Western University Evanston Illinois
Dr Hans J Morgenthau Professor at the University of Chicago
Dr Thomas S Simey Professor at Liverpool University
Dr Richard M Titmuss Professor at the University of London

LOUIS WIRTH

It is with deep and sincere regret that we must record the death of the first President of the International Sociological Association Professor Louis WIRTH of the University of Chicago

The sudden and untimely death of Professor WIRTH on 4 May 1952 came as a great shock to all his friends and colleagues and to all those he had guided helped and encouraged in the advancement of international comm and co-operation between sociologists and soc

Louis WIRTH had th strengthening of the t the world and had h for fruitful social science co-operation ... mple demonstration ... erent countries of received his early training in Germany he emigrated to the United States at the age of 19 became a social worker in Chicago studied sociology under Park Burgess Thomas and Small obtained his Ph D on his outstanding study of *The Ghetto* and went back to Germany for a couple of years under an SSRC fellowship The studies he undertook during that period led him to a greater realization of the need for increased cross fertilization between the differing national schools of sociology and led to his persistent efforts to acquaint American and British sociologists with the approaches of the Mannheim school and the problems of the sociology of intellectual life In the late thirties his interests came to be more orientated towards the sociology of the city and problems relating to planning and the utilization of national resources During and after World War II a third interest came to the forefront Louis WIRTH became a leading expert in the field of minority problems and race relations was a very active President of the American Council on Race Relations and played a big part in the efforts of international organizations concerned with the advancement of studies and programmes of action in this field These interests led him to increased realization of the need for systematic promotion of co-operation between the sociologists active in the different countries of the world He became President of the American Sociological Society for the year 1947 and made great efforts to encourage the movement toward organized international co-operation in sociology He was a member of the Preparatory Committee set up by Unesco in October 1948 to plan the creation of an international organization of sociologists, and served as Chairman of the Constituent Congress of the International Sociological Association held in Oslo in September 1949

The Provisional Council set up at the Constituent Congress unanimously elected Professor WIRTH Provisional President for the first year of operation of the association This was a difficult period in its development and placed a heavy burden of responsibility on Louis WIRTH He devoted a great deal of his time and energy to the problems that had to be tackled and helped and

encouraged the Secretariat set up in Oslo in numerous ways He took a big share in the planning and preparation of the World Congress of Sociologists held in Zurich in September 1950 delivered a number of outstanding addresses and presided over its meetings in a masterful way that will be remembered by all those who were present The formally established council of the association unanimously elected him its first regular president for the three year period 1950-53 and thus expressed its confidence in his leadership and in his devotion to the cause of international social science co-operation

Professor WIRTH was eager to continue his work for the further development of the programme of the association and would have taken a major share in the planning and organization of the World Congress of Sociology to be held in Liège from 24 August to 1 September 1953 He looked forward very much to this gathering of sociologists from all parts of the world and was firmly convinced of its importance to the advancement of sociology as a science and as a basis for social action

Louis WIRTH also contributed to the strengthening of co operative ties between the various social science disciplines He took the initiative in pro posing the creation of an international social science counc[il] in Zurich and presided over the con[...]
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American sociology and international social science h[...]t an ardent indefatigable spokesman and leader in [...]nd untimely death has left all [...] a profound sense of loss an[...]n to his vision of inter
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THEODOR GEIGER

International social science co operation has suffered a serious loss in the death of Professor Theodor GEIGER Director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Aarhus and Chairman of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association

Theodor GEIGER was born in Munich in 1891 and received his early training in law and statistics The profound post war convulsions of German society motivated his early interest in mass behaviour and the sociology of political movements and led him to undertake the extensive investigations that are recorded in *Die Masse und ihre Aktion* (19 6) and *Fuhrer und Folge* (19 6) He was appointed a professor of sociology at the Technological University of Brunswick in 1928 and published a general treatise on sociology and a very important report on his pioneering studies in social stratification *Die [so]ziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes* (1932) The accession of the National Socialist party to power in Germany in 1933 drove him into exile in Denmark He was engaged in a number of research projects at the Institute for History and Social Science in Copenhagen for some years and in 1938 was appointed to

the first chair ever set up in sociology at the University of Aarhus in Jutland
He published a major treatise on sociological theory in 1939 the only large
scale textbook n existence in any Scandinavian language The occupation of
Denmark by the German forces in 1940 caused a temporary interruption in
his academ c career but he was able to continue his extensive research activity
dur ng the war years and produced a number of import
varied fields as economic soc

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Profess Theodor GEIGER took a major part in the foundation and development of the International Sociological Association and in post war efforts to bring about closer co-operation between the social scientists of the world He was elected Chairman of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association and as such played an important role in the development of the ISA programme of cross national comparative research on social stratification and soc al mobility He was intensely concerned with the need to develop comparative studies in a number of countries in this important field and du ng his year as a visiting professor of sociology at the University of Toronto f om 1951 to 195 he did his best to promote interest in such studies n Canada and the United States

He died on board the ship that should have brought him back to Europe He d d not live to see the realizat n of his plans for cross national research in th field f social stratifi ation and social mobil ty but he had initiated a way of thinking and helped to tart a movement that was certain to advance social science knowledge and international co-operation

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[…]ty of the […]ssorship at the University of Aarhus […]ated a number of important studies in the field of social stratification and social mobility. Of particular importance were his studies on the social origins of the Danish intelligentsia from the Reformation to the twentieth century, his investigation of the social origins of Danish students and his detailed analyses of the social origins of the population of the city of Aarhus, published in *Soziale Umschichtungen in einer dänischen Mittelstadt* (1951). He also made pioneering efforts in the field of audience research and planned and carried out the first large scale investigation in Denmark of the habits and preferences of radio listeners.

Professor Theodor GEIGER took a major part in the foundation and development of the International Sociological Association and in post-war efforts to bring about closer co-operation between the social scientists of the world. He was elected Chairman of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association and as such played an important role in the development of the ISA programme of cross-national comparative research on social stratification and social mobility. He was intensely concerned with the need to develop comparative studies in a number of countries in this important field and during his year as a visiting professor of sociology at the University of Toronto from 1951 to 1952 he did his best to promote interest in such studies in Canada and the United States.

He died on board the ship that should have brought him back to Europe. He did not live to see the realization of his plans for cross-national research in the field of social stratification and social mobility, but he had initiated a way of thinking and helped to start a movement that was certain to advance social science knowledge and international co-operation.

Theodor GEIGER was one of the most active sociologists in Europe and had friends in many countries. He will be missed as an indefatigable worker, an inspiring colleague and a good friend.

PART I

AREA STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

A recent survey carried out by the American Political Science Association among the political science departments of 75 American universities showed that 308 of the 797 current research projects dealt with international relations and that, of those 308, 198 were "area studies". This is an interesting point and deserves some further consideration. The exact meaning of the term "area study" as used by American research workers is still a little uncertain. It may be applied to any study of a particular area, at least if it is concerned with some branch of the social sciences, or it may have a much more specific meaning, an area study being a comprehensive study of a given region from several different points of view with the object of determining its role in international life. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of these definitions. The reader will find food for thought on this point in the following pages of this issue of *International Social Science Bulletin*. This uncertainty of meaning seems, however, to be a reasonable starting point for an explanation of the idea underlying this number of the periodical. American and, to a lesser extent, British and French scientists are attaching increasing importance to area studies in the social sciences. The time therefore seems ripe for seeing where we stand. The fact that the basic idea of an area study is still not entirely clear in the minds of many specialists is surely an adequate reason for trying to clarify what we mean by it, at least for the time being. Those who first thought of tackling the problem in this way, despite the difficulties involved, were in no way complacent about the results: the most they could hope to do was to make some suggestions, to lay down tentatively certain principles and to bring up some questions of method in the hope of stimulating fruitful discussion rather than of stating new dogma. Let them not be criticized for temerity, for the attitude towards the problem preserves that humility which must govern any new line of scientific thought, particularly when we are concerned with the sciences which have to do with man.

The writers of these articles have sought to be "scientific"—in other words they have not troubled about the philosophical and ethical bases of what they are trying to do. It would be as well, however, to say something about those aspects here. Like any other scientific method, the area study may be a weapon of peace or of war. An exact knowledge of the part that a foreign country plays in international political and social life may help strategists in a future war quite as much as it does the advocates of collective security. Just as tremendous advances in aircraft design and construction were naturally made under the pressure of wartime needs—advances which now that peace has returned help to bring people closer to one another—so area studies may be used in two ways. There is no doubt that the rapid development of this type of research in the United States of America dates from the second world war and has been

accelerated by the cold war The Department of State naturally interested in training agents abroad and in learning more of the countries with which it is dealing day by day has given much encouragement to work undertaken spontaneously by many American universities in this field and has in fact instigated such investigations itself Accurate information is an essential factor in strategy and area studies can supply invaluable material But it would be dangerous to shut our eyes to all but this aspect of the problem and Unesco is well placed to draw attention to the other side of the picture Surely wars are due at least in part to the fact that the peoples do not understand one another? The main object of an area study is to try to understand another people or group of peoples The attitude which seeks to use the power a nation can wield to impose its will with a blind disregard for the legitimate claims of ll es or adversaries has been described by Professor Morgenthau in his

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Weltpolitik Neo isolationis mis a danger beseting ... nd area studies are certainly one of the best remedies for it as are visits by people of one country to others Any area study conducted in a spirit of impartiality and tolerance shows us Man however obvious this point may seem it is as well to mention it for the pace of the modern world sometimes leads to com plete disparity between the national ideal and the humanistic ideal

Another feature of area studies is also worthy of note They provide opportunity for fruitful collaboration between specialists in different branches of study Close co operation in a common undertaking between historians geographers sociologists anthropologists psychologists and linguists is something which deserves attention and opens up prospects of considerable interest It is a new attack on the hard and fast conceptions of university teaching and research a breach in the wall which the established well defined recognized branches of study continually put up against new branches It is important to note in this connexion that Unesco has always tried to bring about such collaboration between scholars in different fields of specialization The whole idea of the area study implies not merely association but union of the efforts of those taking part generally under the guidance of a specialist in international relations for the prosecution of concerted scientific objects

This issue does not pretend to give an exhaustive account of area studies Th x articles taken as a whole however present a general picture which

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marking out the geographical areas to be studied and for selecting the lines of research to be employed in each case Professor Hans Morgenthau of the University of Chicago seeks to establish the relationship between area studies and the study of international relations He shows that the latter has gradually drawn away from history and international law while area studies by bringing about integration between various branches of learning and thus broadening the outlook of research workers lead to important developments in the intel lectual sphere the chief of these being an understanding of cultural relativity' and a juster appreciation of those cultures which are foreign to us Professor

Jean Gottmann of the Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies and the Institute of Political Studies in Paris describes the contribution which human geography and economics can make to area studies He treats the question historically and shows how human geography originated with Vauban and has been strikingly developed in the twentieth century by Vidal de la Blache and Demangeon The geographer s main contribution to an area study is to explain the distribution of human settlements over the world Professor Gottmann points out that it is best to avoid confining the study to too small a region Professor John N Hazard of Colombia University New York a specialist on Slavonic questions takes Soviet law as an example to show that detailed study of legal problems can teach us much about the national and international aspects of a country s life In particular the idea of the relations between the State and the individual which differs so much from country to country and which is so instructive is clearly revealed by a detailed examination of a country s laws Professor Simey of Liverpool University deals with the contribution of sociology and psychology to area studies He suggests that the geographical areas chosen for study should be socio-cultural units In his view it is extremely difficult to draw a dividing line between sociology and psychology in such work It is in fact no use to analyse the structure of societies as they are without reference to the development of the individual characteristics of men and women He goes on to extend this idea of the need for association to other sciences such as anthropology political economy and political science This is a big step forward bringing us as it does from multi-disciplinary techniques to interdisciplinary techniques The obvious conclusion is that the improvement of area studies is bound up with the as yet inadequate development of some of the social sciences Professor Melville J Herskovits of North Western University writes on cultural anthropology This provides a frame of reference for the analysis of the ways of life of any people in terms of their own institutions accepted modes of behaviour and underlying sanctions If cultural anthropology is left out of account descriptions of culture are bound to remain somewhat in the air' He analyses the concept of culture showing that unlike physical characteristics culture is acquired by the individuals in the group and brings out the extent to which culture determines the conduct of those individuals In his view the principal purpose of area studies is to give a complete picture of the culture of a specified region Cultural anthropology thus has a vital part to play or at all events a greater part than it has so far been allotted

A bibliography with abstracts of the most important area studies so far published follows these articles It has been drawn up in collaboration with the information services of the Fondation nationale des sciences politiques Paris

This issue of *International Social Science Bulletin* is intended to provide material for discussion comparison and further suggestions It is hoped that this tentative survey of the position may be followed a little later by another dealing more comprehensively and in greater detail with the situation

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book *In* ... The term is excellent for it in... ...cally that there are several forms of isolationism and that it is possible to remain isolationist even while practising what the Germans call Weltpolitik Neo isolationism is a danger besetting every people and area studies are certainly one of the best remedies for it as are visits by people of one country to others Any area study conducted in a spirit of impartiality and tolerance shows us Man however obvious this point may seem it is as well to mention it for the pace of the modern world sometimes leads to complete disparity between the national ideal and the humanistic ideal

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This issue does not pretend to give an exhaustive account of area studies The six articles taken as a whole however present a general picture which should produce useful reactions In an article dealing with methods Professor J B Duroselle Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Saar and a lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris gives a definition of area studies in the light of previous publications and of the few existing works dealing with the theory of the question H...

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native Men have always been interested in understanding the international role of certain regions To go no further back than the nineteenth century Custine's *Voyage en Russie* Father Huc's *Voyage en Tartarie* and de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* stand out among a host of similar works in that they go beyond the purely descriptive stage and at least aspire to a certain scientific value even if they do not always attain it The originality of the American area studies lies rather in their systematic character in the number of disciplines on which they draw and the
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Common to all these ... al geography or of biological geography guesswork plays a pproach is uppermost the field of research is restricted to one or a few well defined sciences and no attempt is made to seek for a complete explanation of the internat onal life of the region The third category is the form which is at once sc ent fic and systematic—that of area studies

Needless to say there are non Amer can works even of this last form Mention may be made among many other examples of the work *lust alia and the Pacifi* publ shed by the Australian Institute of International Affairs and of the excellent *I tial on a la Tunisie* by A Basset and his collaborators Some of the publ cations of the Royal Inst tute of International Affairs in Great Brita n are real area studies The original ty of the American scienti ts p obably l es in the fact that they have devoted themselves to this form of study in a wider and more systematic manner and gone further in di card ng the s n le author method n favou of large scale teamwo k The very scope of uch ork is attempts at co-o dinat on and the results already obtained would seem to confe on it a p ofound s gnificance in the evolution of modern sc entific esearch Gone is the stage of groping hesitat on, and perhaps the time has come to eflect on the method which has emerged from the first experiments carr ed out That is the object of this article It makes no pretence of be n anythin but pro isional a mere starting po nt susceptible of stimu latin d c ission as much by the errors as by the truths which it may contain Such a discuss n ould be nvaluable fo the improvement of the very p inciples of esea ch

Fo this purpos t is p oposed to study three aspects of the methodological problem F rst is the place of area stud es in the study of international rela ti ns Second is the notion of an area just when can a region be submitted to systematic study? Thirdly what a e the elements of a systematic study and how is it possible to determine the discipl nes whose employment is indispen sabl fo the study f the geograph cal a ea chosen

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N one will be urprised that we class area studies in the very well-defined field of the study of international relat ons A simple consideration of the natu e of these stud es reveals the d recti n given them consc ously or not by

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AREA STUDIES PROBLEMS OF METHOD

JEAN B DUROSELLE

The expression area study is becoming the fashion in the United States For some years now doubtless as a corollary to the rapid development of American foreign policy on a world scale a large number of scholars generally working in teams have been instituting a form of enquiry whose aim is to spread a scientific knowledge of the problems raised by certain territories States or groups of States in the world Perhaps this is an instinctive reaction against the almost complete ignorance about everything that did not concern their continent from which American diplomatic circles suffered in the isolationist period [1] Or perhaps in a country where geographical studies attract little attention—there are several large American universities without a single chair of geography—although the teaching of international relations is very advanced the development of area studies constitutes a spontaneous means of associating spatial considerations with the examination of general political data However that may be we are faced with an abundance of works dealing with every part of the world A concern for detailed information has led the Social Science Research Council to publish various guides which indicate the nature and the level of area studies in the main United States universities

The best handy definition of an area study till we have had time to work out something more accurate is *the scientific study of a region presenting a certain politico social unity with a view to understanding and explaining its place and its role in international society* [3] *This result can only be obtained by the systematic use of all branches of study that may provide valid explanations*

Let us take as an example the Middle East Without claiming the list that follows as complete it would seem unlikely that anyone would be able to understand the Middle East s part in international society without calling on physical geography climatology political history sociology—chiefly as concerns the ... comm...

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P... ...day American science ... which is a characteristic forward in the history of the human mind represent a sensational bound which occur only once or twice in a century? Such a claim would be somewhat

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political relationships between States[1] Diplomacy assuredly has its share in this concept which is richer in meaning today than in the past But relations between nations nowadays are maintained on many other levels There are economic financial and monetary relations demographic relations by emigration or immigration cultural relations in all their forms ranging from reciprocal influence in art and literature to psychological warfare with intermediate forms where cultural exchanges are tied up with commercial dealings as in the export of films or the sale of patents or indeed in tourist travel All these forms of international relations are obviously to a great extent interdependent though each has its own aspects and a certain autonomy

In the objective study[2] of these relations in the wider sense there are several stages to be distinguished The first is the accumulation of materials which will be very varied sought from the most diverse sciences and disciplines and as carefully selected as possible There is room for a study of the methodology of this selection and for a criticism *a priori* and *a posteriori* of the value of these materials[3] but this is not the place for such a task Under the heading of what is here called accumulation of materials would come such enquiries as a study of the influence of banks and business circles on the foreign policy of a country at various moments in its history a study of the influence of American films on the psychology of different peoples according to the circulation of the former and the level of culture of the latter or again a study of the development and conquests of a language or a religion at the expense of other languages or other religions and so on Needless to say every science plays its part in this accumulation of material useful to the understanding of international relations though only what is taken into account This will avoid any confusion between this first phase of the work and the compilation of a universal encyclopædia

The second stage is the study of all the phenomena concerning a given territory or group of territories so as to distinguish the fundamental data and the accidental data explaining the international life of this geographical area This is the purpose of area studies To define the place (static point of view) and the role (dynamic point of view) of an area in international relations is in fact to establish which are the fundamental and enduring and which the contingent and accidental data that explain the relations of this area with the rest of the world

The third stage consists in working out a theory of international relations as a whole that is to say in finding the fundamental data which explain these relations in general independently of geographical areas This phase will normally take the form of a study of world wide phenomena such as nationalism colonialism and imperialism. It will also include an examination of the general influences which affect international relations and of their respective value— influences of political of the geographical background of

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On this poin I re er th rea er to an article h ch ill ppear in th Oct be 95 issue f the *Revue fr de la cience pol ique* L ud des rel tion in ern tionales m thodes perspecti es Man hors ha temp ed this som them mos brill tly g. Hans h b on tionalism, Sch mpe er and Hannah Aren on imperialism and t lita nism,

their authors Take as an example a collection which has already created some stir *Modern France*[1] a symposium edited at Princeton by Professor Edward Mead Earle with contributions from 28 American scholars and one Frenchman Mr Andre Siegfried Taken together the studies which might be disparate if they had been juxtaposed converge towards a well defined aim to help the educated public particularly American scholars and statesmen to understand the real situation of France Yet setting aside a purely abstract curiosity what can be the interest of a precise knowledge of the French situation if it be not to evaluate the pl[illegible] in the world? The mere f[illegible]

in the [illegible] aim [illegible] rati[illegible] are [illegible] area under conside[illegible] [illegible] treated its subject [illegible] It can indeed be said that a study of an [illegible] in the absolute and failed to regard it as essentially an element in the human universe would be pure verbiage without any scientific value The human community in the pure state isolated from other communities does not exist save on the insignificant scale of the desert island for the brief period that the shipwrecked party lives there Even countries protected by formidable natural barriers such as Tibet or Sinkiang Greenland or the Antarctic lead [illegible] like all the rest [illegible] relationships [illegible] thorough[illegible] would [illegible] factors [illegible] nation[illegible] isolated [illegible] country in inter[illegible] [illegible] therefore does not consider France as an isolated phenomenon but assesses the importance of France in the world

For such a book to be truly objective it must be addressed to all readers everywhere who whatever their nationality wish to form an exact and scientific opinion on France There are of course lesser degrees of objectivity more precise and more limited aims for example that of explaining the role of France to the Americans only This is perhaps the spirit behind the publication of another book on France in some ways parallel with Earle s Professor Donald McKay s *The United States and France* The title is ambiguous and might suggest that it was a study limited to relations between the United States and France It is nothing of the sort or at least the study of these relations is confined to one chapter Mr McKay s real aim is to explain the role of France to the educated American public by the study of all the factors within his grasp His book is part of a collection which he is editing together with Mr Sumner Welles and which has been given the self explanatory title of *American Foreign Policy Library* The other books in the series are entitled *The United States and China* *The United States and Scandinavia* *The United States and the Near East* and so on and the significance of the titles is the same in every instance—what the United States should know of the role and place in international life of the countries or groups of countries studied It is finally possible to imagine—and it would not be such a very extravagant flight of fancy—area studies being commissioned by the Defence Ministry or the Foreign Affairs Ministry of this or that country with a militarist or imperialist aim

It is thus clear that an area study is essentially a contribution to the study of international relations The expression international relations should not of course be taken in its narrow sense which would limit its content to the

[1] *Moder F nc P bl m f th Th d nd F rth R p bl* Pri ce Lni ersi y Pres 95 XIV 5 pp
Cambridg Harv rd U rsi y Press 95 XVII 334 pp

political relationsh ... this concept ... between natio ... has its share in economic financial and monetary relations ... on many other levels There are emigration or immigration cultural relations demographic relations by reciprocal influence in art and literature to psychological warfare with intermediate forms where cultural exchanges are tied up with commercial dealings as in the export of films or the sale of patents or indeed in tourist travel All these forms of international relations are obviously to a great extent interdependent though each has its own aspects and a certain autonomy

In the objective study[2] of these relations in the wider sense there are several stages to be distinguished The first is the accumulation of materials which will be very varied sought from the most diverse sciences and disciplines and as carefully selected as possible There is room for a study of the methodology of this selection and for a criticism *a prio i* and *a po teriori* of the value of these materials but this is not the place for such a task Under the heading of what is here called accumulation of materials would come such enquiries as a study of the influence of banks and business circles on the foreign policy of a country at various moments in its history a study of the influence of American films on the psychology of different peoples according to the circulation of the former and the level of culture of the latter or again a study of the development and conquests of a language or a religion at the expense of other languages or other religions and so on Needless to say every science plays its part in this accumulation of material though only what is useful to the understanding of international relations is taken into account This will avoid any confusion between this first phase of the work and the compilation of a universal encyclopædia

The second stage is the study of all the phenomena concerning a given territory or group of territories so as to distinguish the fundamental data and the accidental data explaining the international life of this geographical area This is the purpose of area studies To define the place (static point of view) and the role (dynamic point of view) of an area in international relations is in fact to establish which are the fundamental and enduring and which the contingent and accidental data that explain the relations of this area with the rest of the world

The third stage consists in working out a theory of international relations as a whole that is to say in finding the fundamental data which explain these relations in general independently of geographical areas This phase will normally take the form of a study of world wide phenomena such as nationalism colonialism and imperialism It will also include an examination of the general influences which affect international relations and of their respective value—influences of political of the geographical background of

Cf. ... h ... bjec R ... ear ... P ... ical Science ed. by Ernest S G ... ith Chapel Hill U ... versi ... f North Carolina Pres ... 9 ... 8 pp (with ... ch ... er on international relation) William F ... lding O ... burn, *Technol gy an International Relatio* ... Uni ersi ... f C ... cago Pres ... 9 9 ... pp. ... d Schwarze berger' book mentioned above

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standards of living and of the personalities of responsible statesmen etc It need hardly be added that such a general theory is hard to elaborate in the present state of knowledge except in the form of hypotheses

In any case we can define the exact place of the area study in this general perspective It uses the material supplied by scientists in widely differing branches of study systematically selecting and co ordinating the data in relation to a given geographical area We regard this as the second stage—a necessary but yet incomplete stage—in the study of international relations For the specialist in a particular science who has supplied the data (first stage) an area study goes beyond his subject in necessitating recourse to other disciplines yet it pins him down to a very definite geographical area For the theorist of international relations (third stage) it is a vital but only an isolated element a general theory which if it is to be fully worked out requires the findings of many area studies [1]

II

As we have seen the ultimate aim of the area study is to determine the role and place of a given geographical area in international relations by shedding light on fundamental and accidental data The first problem of method then is obviously the choice of the geographical area to be studied

In the case of a study of regional geography where the character of a region is explained in terms of its physical and human make up there are many different ways of achieving unity of approach The French geography school following the example of Vidal de la Blache De Martonne and Demangeon has produced such a wealth of these regional studies as to establish clearly the soundest principles for the selection of regions for study Demangeon s *Picardy* the first famous example of its kind is the study of a historical region rather than of a region whose unity is constituted by natural features On the other hand physical geography is the central theme of the works on Oisans by Allix on Vercors by Vidal de la Blache and on Limousin by Perpillou Hydrographical and human factors together form the unity of Dion s study of the valley of the Loire On a larger scale Augustin Bernard concentrates on the present political setting in his works on Algeria and Morocco

The approach is very different when the aim is not to explain the character of a region but the relations of a territory with neighbouring territories and with the world at large Demangeon s and De Martonne s works on France which supplement one another form a vast and comprehensive study of regional geography and can more or less afford to ignore the rest of the world But Earle and McKay in the works mentioned above study France only for the purpose of clarifying its relations with the rest of the world The aim of an area study then is to study a network of relations and the extent to which an inside knowledge of the territory under consideration explains these relations For their full explanation we should need to be able to demonstrate how other territories in turn influence the territory under consideration This would presuppose as many area studies as there are territories Such an

[1] This lead m t m k p ss ng [illegible] g ed th m tt f l tern t al el m f G tzk [illegible] f tu E ppo ing h pe m so gges (p. t) h re I d t co d it possibl t p ss di ee from h po bl sh ld I feel b co fi ed l th I ws th ill en bl pe im should be ph) with t int medi t g f g gr ph l w m t rial (firs ph se) es ri ed eogr phical f recas h l Géogr ph ter II Arma d C l P d es. g ral theory (hird

exhaustive investigation is conceivable in the near future but not in the present state of research

Since we have to do with international [illegible] we may lay down as a first principle of [illegible] considered must be on the scale of the S[illegible] territory[1] on the scale of the unit of political administration [illegible] case of a dependent is concerned there is no difficulty in applying this rule Where a State instance none of its provinces plays an independent part in international relations Neither Brittany Auvergne nor even Alsace has any foreign policy cultural activity or economic life that can be isolated from the highly centralised unit constituted by France France may be partly explained by the existence and individuality of Brittany Auvergne and Alsace and many other provinces as well but in international relations France alone is a separate entity This is equally true of States with a federal structure such as Switzerland or the United States of America It is more difficult, and in some cases impossible to grasp the individuality of a non metropolitan territory At present, it is difficult to conceive of French Somaliland as a separate entity or individuality since it is a small sparsely populated territory of purely strategic and economic importance But in many other cases this individuality is quite obvious Tunisia and Morocco even though under the protectorate system they are closely dependent on Metropolitan France so far as purely foreign policy is concerned (in both cases the Resident General under the Protectorate Treaty acts as the Minister for Foreign Affairs) none the less have their own individuality in economic cultural and even political life Much the same applies to Algeria although it has become a far more integral part of metropolitan France

We may therefore take it that the first case suitable for an area study is that of a dependent or independent territory with a sufficiently pronounced individuality to enable it to play its own part in international relations taken in the broader sense This concept of individuality is naturally not very clear cut and there are borderline cases If we regard Russian Turkestan as a territory attached to a metropolis can we say that for all its vast size its wealth and population it plays its own part in external relations independently of Soviet policy That would be hard to concede considering Turkestan's close dependence, facilitated by an authoritarian régime by the dictatorship of one party and by the fact that it borders on the Soviet Union The Ukraine and White Russia which in theory are self governing so far as foreign policy is concerned and have their own Ministries of Foreign Affairs have never shown the slightest inclination to adopt a different political line from the Union However there are groups of Ukrainian and White Russian emigrants whose activity lends weight to the theory that their home countries have at least a potential individuality of their own

To determine whether a dependent territory has an individuality of its own we may therefore take a simple rule of thumb which I shall put in this way a dependent territory has an individuality as soon as some of its inhabitants play in international relations taken in the broader sense (political economic demographic cultural etc) a part that is clearly independent of the authority over them and perceptible in general international relations By adopting this criterion we come to the conclusion that Jibuti is too small a setting for an area study that the Ukraine and Turkestan have a barely perceptible individuality so that in these two special cases it would be

[1] I dop h erminology used b Jea -ot ma in *La pol sque des Etat et leu g gr ph* P [illegible] in or er to show ha area dies m be carried ou [illegible] self governing err ries, [illegible] 95 precisely

preferable to make an area study for the U S S R as a whole[1] but that Tunisia is suitable for such a study

We have hitherto considered only the minimum area for a study but there is nothing to prevent—in fact everything to recommend—studies of geographical areas embracing several States or territories Take for instance, French North Africa if we make three area studies one for Morocco another for Algeria and a third for Tunisia we should admittedly obtain interesting results but in all probability most of the important data brought to light by the three studies would overlap The three countries in fact belong to the same geographical and climatic unit—Maghreb Their population consists of Moslem Arabs and Berbers plus a number of Jews and 10 per cent of Europeans mostly French France is the dominant cultural and economic and of course political influence as well They have much the same agricultural and mineral resources today being supplemented by rapid industrialization Each of the territories has its nationalist movement to some extent bound up with the Arab League All these factors confer upon the region a fundamental unity—though each has its own special character—which makes it easier to discern the salient features But as the study of international relations now stands only salient features are readily perceptible

In some cases it is a more difficult matter to group territories Scientists are not agreed upon the meaning of the Middle East South east Asia plainly has some degree of unity comprising as it does the countries subjected to the influence of the monsoon to which they owe their special agricultural characteristics Apart from Thailand the traditional buffer State between the French and British possessions the entire region has been colonized by the British French Dutch and Americans Save for India and Pakistan the whole of South-east Asia was overrun by the Japanese Four of its countries had puppet Japanese Governments Burma and the Philippines in 1943 and Indo China and Indonesia in 1945 India itself holds in honour the memory of Subas Chandra Bose s National Indian Army Today with the exception of British Malaya and Singapore all these countries have won their independence Yet would it be wise to make an area study comprising the Indian peninsula the Indo Chinese peninsula and the great archipelagoes? It seems preferable to deal separately with the Indian penins [illegible] white or black Dravidian inh [illegible] by [illegible] peo [illegible] underwent Japanese occi [illegible] have experienced Chinese infiltration

Similarly for Latin America a distinction should doubtless be drawn between the Caribbean zone Portuguese America the Northern States and Argentina and Chile but this is a controversial grouping with nothing final about it Any such subdivision must needs be empirical But we can at least attempt to formulate a practical criterion—even though it has no absolute value which may help the specialist in international relations who is still feeling his way It is expedient to group a number of territories for an area

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differentiating features outweigh those it has in common with the rest
And so although area studies of Scandinavia and the Iberian peninsula may very well be envisaged it is questionable whether an area study of Western Europe as a whole would be very profitable for research In this part of the world which has had such a chequered history and has for so long been in the forefront of technical progress it would surely be preferable at least fo the time being to keep to the level of the State at any rate for the most im portant—the United Kingdom France Germany and Italy Scientifically this would seem to be the soundest method as it would dispense with unduly complex analyses The desire of many Western Europeans to federate their countries has nothing to do with this technical consideration It should be remembered that area studies are a scientific investigation and must not be governed by such normative considerations as aspirations for European union At the present stage it is not at all certain that the fundamental factors underlying the international life of each great European country are sufficiently alike to warrant any general scientific study

III

The most difficult task facing the authors of area studies is the choice of disciplines to which recourse must be had in order to give an adequate survey of the international life of the country or group of countries under consideration Every geographical area is naturally a special case and raises its own particular problems None the less a systematic study should be made drawing upon every study that may furnish worthwhile information The safest rule then is to overlook nothing that may prove useful and for this it is necessary to feel one s way The specialists in every subject who are asked to contribute must be carefully guided by the director of the work who must needs be a specialist in international relations Basically at the present stage the success of an area study depends primarily on the persons conducting it Without skilful firm guidance each scientist is liable to produce a study excellent in itself but not quite suited to the common aim A set of first rate studies may together form a very poor area study The analysis of facts is not enough synthesis is also needed and to achieve such synthesis in this type of work the first requirement is to see that each specialist produces not a study on its own of merely isolated interest but that he makes his contribution to a joint work which must lead to conclusions The editor therefore has a vital part to play in ensuring unity of approach and co-ordination between the different parts of the work It is strictly possible to have an area study written by one man as in the case of the above mentioned American Foreign Policy Library Synthesis is then easier But there is a very serious risk of many chapters being somewhat superficial or of the work s having certain gaps

Apart from this question of personal guidance a few elementary rules may be laid down Three subjects are of paramount importance in the study of international relations history geography and sociology We cannot

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here dwell at length on their use [1] though a few remarks are called for

History affords the only means of distinguishing between what is permanent and what is accidental in the international life of any country It is the key explaining the interrelationship of facts and though it is neither all explanatory nor self sufficient it clearly reveals the difference between recurring factors and those that are radically new Imagine an area study on Ireland History shows us that from the seventeenth century to the mid nineteenth century this country had difficulty in feeding an overcrowded population An unforeseeable climatic accident put an end to this situation or at least paved the way for its change in 1846 the potato harvest was so meagre that it resulted in appalling famine This started off the largest scale emigration movement in history relatively to the total size of the population Now that Ireland has won her independence it has a far smaller population than 110 years ago This shows how history can help us to distinguish between the permanent factors (over population and poverty) and the accidental factors (the famine of 1846 47) These two factors must be considered together in order to explain the international life of present day Ireland if only because a large number of the Irish emigrated to the United States of America and there gained an influence which is of no small account in the internation[illegible]

It is for the director of the area study [illegible] area to draw upon history in [illegible] of the country (its frontiers [illegible] economic and social history re[illegible] the phases and rate of its technological [illegible] other countries) its development the discovery or exhaustion of natural resources the repercussions of economic and social events on the political and cultural vitality of the country the growth and promotion of new social classes and so on the history of institutions showing their connexion with international life demographic and religious history and the history of thought All these factors play their part—though be it noted a limited part—in an area study which is not a historical work aimed at giving a complete account of events History only serves to show the constant and non recurring factors and to distinguish fundamental from accidental data Like every branch of science used in an area study it is a means and not an end All it does is to furnish such conclusions as the requirements of the subject call for It is for the director of the work to determine in consultation with the specialists what those requirements are

For geography it is enough to apply the principles outlined above The international life of a territory or group of territories is obviously moulded by physical human and economic geography but it is no less obvious that these factors play only a limited part and cannot explain everything Human beings quite independently of the geographic setting are responsible for many important phenomena Accordingly the area study should not be a purely geographic enquiry—interesting though this may be—with little bearing on the study of international relations All geography will do is to furnish very clear cut conclusions as to the relationship between the spatial considerations emerging from geographical studies and the international life of the area under consideration It will be noted that it is usually human beings rather than nature that account for the differentiation between territories An artificial historical frontier such as that separating Canada from the Unit d

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States of Amer ca has always facil tated commercial contacts and movements of population The no less artificial historical front er separating France from Germany and Belgium has always been a na l c coloured all France
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pl uenon which for us is of no importance except with reference to other issues such as France s steel requirements is France self suffic ent is steel one of its most impo tant products what is its place in world output? in relation to German output? (the political importance of this economic phenomenon may thus be analysed)

The difficulty in geography as in history is to choose exactly what is gnificant Here again, the responsibility rests with the director of the work assisted by the specialists contributing to it

Sociology is of comparable value for area studies and only its under developed state prevents its being used on the same scale as the two above mentioned sciences The study of social groups should provide a yardstick of their pol t cal and cultural influence thei recept vity or impermeability to outside influence and their role in internat onal economic life The special value of sociological investigat on in an area study is that instead of having the given territory treated as one great homogeneous block (which would assuredly be a distort on of the facts) it enables a distinction to be d awn between various categories and fine shades All forms of sociological research may p ove useful For France for instance Gabriel Le Bras works on religious soc ology reveal the relative importance of religious factors in pol cultural life The works on electoral sociolog h guidance of André S egfried the st ength
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a tor n different ation Iconography u uwells at length on what he terms per Mr Gottmann, in the psycho con epts deas group instincts bel efs and myths The study of iconography implies the whole body of stereotypes but they must be supplemented by other studies of national is obviously a diff cult matter and may be based on studies of iconography psychology whose con lusions may be prof tably recorded in the area study

History geography and sociology then must form the core of any area study The di ector of the wo k who must above all be a specialist in inter national relations should have a good ground ng in these three disc pl nes But there is obviously an nfinite variety of other disciplines wh ch must be called into play according to the geograph c area under consideration e g anthropology linguist cs l terature arts a study of economic and social thought rel gious science o even climatology zoology and botany or in quite an the fi ld constitutional law c vil and administrative law and so on

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Problem Co emporary Ar S dies d I ern tional R l ions I *orld Pol* J ly 95 pp 5-6

Their choice is a complex matter demanding of the director of the work wide culture discrimination and a sound general knowledge of the country being studied. Anthropology for instance is of little importance in explaining the international life of France in which a fundamental part is played by currents of thought. This approach could doubtless be reversed for a study of the Caribbean zone. Similarly the politics and cultural life of the Arab League countries are incomprehensible without a thorough study of Moslem theology whereas in South Africa religious life is a less important factor in international relations than racial problems. Apart from the three basic disciplines I feel that some degree of empiricism is inevitable at the present stage in selecting the branches of science to be used in an area study. Stricter criteria may possibly emerge as progress is made with such studies. For the time being we may rest content with an imperfect but workable solution.

Two main conclusions I feel follow from this necessarily cursory survey. The first is that the director of an area study plays a vital part in selecting the geographic area for study and in determining the sciences that may be most profitably used. He will discuss with each contributor exactly what is expected of him. This requires sound knowledge of the region being studied as well as complete open mindedness to save him attempting to foist *a priori* conclusions on the specialists and thus jeopardize the objectivity of the whole work. As in the case of the collection *Modern France* mentioned above it would even be preferable for the different authors to arrive occasionally at contradictory results. This proves that Professor Earle who directed the work was careful not to impose his views. The second conclusion is that the area study must be conducted by a team whether each of the team members writes part of the work himself or leaves it to a single author. The ability to discern the basic factors underlying the international life of the country presupposes full awareness of the complexity of the problems involved—a complexity that is revealed by the numerous points of contact between the various branches of study used. These points of contact are best realized by discussing the problems together if the director himself a specialist in international relations keeps in close touch with his team of scientists each of whom is a specialist in one branch of study but familiar with the study or international relations.

It will also be seen from this hasty survey that the area study is a new form of enquiry whose importance is gradually emerging though its exact limits have not yet been clearly defined hence this attempt to clarify the principles of method is necessarily tentative. My primary aim was to give a summary and preliminary synthesis on the basis of the various works published with their encouraging results and imperfection which in themselves are illuminating. Such a synthesis will be useful in so far as it stimulates reactions discussion and further work along the same lines.

The scientific and human value of a better knowledge of foreign countries is so obvious that any attempt however humble to improve this knowledge is bound to be well worth while.

AREA STUDIES AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HANS J MORGENTHAU

A ea studies both histor cally and analytically form a part of that field of knov led e v hich is called international relations The type of area study v hich is prevalent today o es its existence to the practical need to prepare members of the armed f rces f r service in fore gn countries during the second v o ld v ar Those who v ere expected to take responsible po itions in foreign countries had to get acqua nted as quickly as possible v ith the language geography culture and history of those countries Not only were these tra courses successful in their immed ate purpose ha intellectual advantages wh a foreign area not in te v ere the r proce inte by th t of cross fertilization s p ocess upon the minds of the student is generally called

In order to understand v hat area studies thus conceived are able to contr bute to the study of international relations it is first necessary to understand the basic problems to v hich the recognition of international relations and rea stud es as academic disc plines has given rise This investigation will show that these t o novel academ c discipl nes must solve the same bas c problems If one wants to put the issue in epigrammatic and therefore oversimplified form one m ht say that the main problem as yet unsolved that conf onts these two academic disciplines is that they have not been able to acqu e intellectual discipline They have no intellectually valid focus which could give un ty to their intellectual endeavours and they have no common method by wh ch the results of their investigations could be tested

These deficiencies have been as obvious in the study of internat onal relations as they are in area stud es They are the more obvious in the latter since area stud es have made integrat on the r main claim for recognition as an academic disc pline Area studies a e in the process of showing—and the most mature discussion of the pr blems shows t with particular clarity—that they stand and f ll with the p ecise formulation of a relevant problem to which different academic discipl nes are to contribute If area studies can demonstrate in practice that succes in international studies area or otherwise depends upon the p ecise definition of a common problem and the sharp focus of all r levant resea ch upon that problem they will indeed have made an out tandin contribution to the study of international relations

I

When after the first world war the study of internat onal relat ons gained re cognit on as an independent academic discipline it had three main intellectual

Julian H. Steward, *A ea Resea ch Theory A P act* (N York Social Scie ce Research Council 95
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belongs to all countries. Anything one wants to then becomes international. From this point of view, seasickness is an international fact: not only does one experience it on all oceans, but there are societies against that disease, and one can conceive of an international league whose purpose it is to do research and compare the methods with which to combat the disease. Yet the question remains outside our field of inquiry until one concerns oneself with the conclusion of an international convention obligating vessels to equip themselves with certain medicines which are recognized as necessary for the protection against seasickness.

I beg your pardon for having chosen that imaginary example. I wanted only to indicate the need for a narrow definition of international studies.[1]

The organization of academic teaching and research in international relations has largely reflected the vagueness and eclecticism of the theoretical conception of international relations as an academic discipline. There has been a general tendency to divide the field of international relations into a number of subdivisions whose common denominator is their transcendence of national boundaries either geographically or functionally. These subdivisions were selected from the traditional academic disciplines either *in toto*, such as international law and international economics, or rearranged through the selection of individual courses taken from different disciplines. Thus all the courses which for instance had a reference to Russia in their title would be grouped under the area heading of Russia.

It could not have passed unnoticed that the intellectual unity of an academic field thus established was bound to be of a most superficial nature and that where there occurred real integration and cross-fertilization among several academic disciplines, credit was due to the creative process occurring in the minds of outstanding students rather than to the academic organization of the field. Attempts have therefore been made in recent years to give international relations the unity of an academic discipline by buttressing the eclectic organization of the field with a general or "core" course or number of courses which are supposed to present the distinctive characteristics of international relations as an academic discipline. This core generally covers the field of international law, international organization, international politics, international economics, international geography, American and European diplomatic history, with such additions as meet the preferences of individual institutions. Most textbooks in the field reflect the eclectic character of this core. For such a core, if it has no focus other than that of the "international" character of international relations, cannot help being as eclectic and disparate as the field itself.

II

The problems with which area studies must cope in order to live up to the promise of integration and cross-fertilization are similar, *mutatis mutandis*, to those with which the academic discipline of international relations has dealt thus far without spectacular success. The central problem is again that of focus and method.

We have already pointed to the practical needs of warfare which have given rise to the recognition of area studies as a major academic discipline. Practical

[1] Paul Mantoux, *Coopération intellectuelle* ... 7 8 Paris, 9 5, p. 90. Translated from the French by the author.

interests history international law and political reform It is not by accident that the first two occupants of the first chair of international politics the one which was founded in 1919 at the University of Wales were distinguished historians Professors Zimmern and Webster There can of course be no doubt that knowledge of history and more particularly of diplomatic history forms an indispensable element of international relations but as shall be shown later in this paper while the student of international relations must have a thorough knowledge of history his intellectual interest is not identical with that of the historian

Obviously the intellectual interest of international relations is in the present and the future rather than in the past and especially in the inter war years that interest was conceived in terms of international law International relations were considered to move on two different levels the legal one which presented the rules by which States were supposed to act and the empirical one which showed how they actually did act in view of the rules of international law Thus general history diplomatic history and international law became three cornerstones of the study of international relations

The fourth cornerstone of the study of international relations is less easy to identify For it is formed by the aspirations for a better world morally respectable in themselves but vaguely conceived and identified with whatever remedy seems to be fashionable at a particular time Thus we find that the focus of academic interest changes continuously in accordance with the preferences of public opinion centring on disarmament one day the League of Nations or the United Nations another world government or regional federation another again

The interstices between the [illegible] filled in with an incoherent coll[illegible] whole gamut of academic disciplines [illegible] ning in common that they transcend the boundarie[illegible] particular nation The tone is set in the letter offering in 1919 a chair of international politics to the University of Wales and describing its purposes as the study of those related problems of law and politics of ethics and economics which are raised by the project of a League of Nations and for the encouragement of a truer understanding of civilizations other than our own Reading the voluminous proceedings of the International Institute of Intellectual Co operation which in the inter war years dedicated much of its work to the discussion of international relations as an academic discipline one cannot but be struck by the amorphousness of the discussion and the vagueness of the results One speaker seems to have well summarized the consensus of those meetings when he said

The science of international relations has primarily a descriptive character It is somewhat in the order of the contemporary history of nations covering all fields economics trade exchange movement of production of goods of currency as well as politics and culture The factor uniting the problems which form the science of international relations is their international character that is to say the tie which is created among all domains of social life when that life transgresses the limits of one single nation and influences the relations among nations

The same consensus is reflected in the ironic comment rare in its critical detachment yet typical in its bias in favour of international law of another speaker who expressed himself thus

One can without doubt call international any phenomenon because it

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ing chosen that imaginary example I wanted only to indicate the need for a narrow definition of international studies.

The organization of academic teaching and research in international studies has largely reflected the vagueness and eclecticism of the theoretical conception of international relations as an academic discipline. There has been a general tendency to divide the field of international relations into a number of subdivisions whose common denominator is their transcendence of national boundaries either geographically or functionally. These subdivisions were selected from the traditional academic disciplines either *in toto* such as international law and international economics, or rearranged through the selection of individual courses taken from different disciplines. Thus all the courses which for instance had a reference to Russia in their title would be grouped under the area heading of Russia.

It could not have passed unnoticed that the intellectual unity of an academic field thus established was bound to be of a most superficial nature and that where there occurred real integration and cross-fertilization among several academic disciplines credit was due to the creative process occurring in the minds of outstanding students rather than to the academic organization of the field. Attempts have therefore been made in recent years to give international relations the unity of an academic discipline by buttressing the eclectic organization of the field with a general or core course or number of courses which are supposed to present the distinctive characteristics of international relations as an academic discipline. This core generally covers the fields of international law, international economics, international organization, international geography, American and European diplomatic history with such additions as meet the preferences of individual institutions. Most textbooks in the field reflect the eclectic character of this core. For such a core, if it has no focus other than that of the international character of international relations, cannot help being as eclectic and disparate as the field itself.

II

The problems with which area studies must cope in order to live up to the promise of integration and cross-fertilization are similar *mutatis mutandis* to those with which the academic discipline of international relations has dealt thus far without spectacular success. The central problem is again that of focus and method.

We have already pointed to the practical needs of warfare which have given rise to the recognition of area studies as a major academic discipline. Practical

P ul tanto ... hor ... *Coopérat on ntellectuelle* N. 57 58 Paris, 9 5 P 90 T nsl ed from h Fre h b th

of the time on this level than on that of consciously determined responses to the situations he meets in everyday life At first glance such a statement may seem overdrawn but only a slight consideration of the facts is necessary to dispel the illusion that conscious thought predominates in guiding behaviour

Thus for example it is rare that reactions to any aspect of linguistic structure rise above the level of consciousness any more than does the phonemic system employed in pronouncing the words of one s language The same is true of the meaning of these words This frees the individual to give conscious thought to what he is going to say and makes it unnecessary for him to pay attention to the mechanisms of speech he must use in saying it This statement also applies to music to systems of etiquette to moral codes to canons of value to aesthetic responses These it should be noted are cultural elements in which conscious thought enters least When it is realized that the same principle holds to some degree whenever an individual reacts to any culturally derived stimulus that does not involve the element of choice between alternatives it becomes clear to what extent the human being lives on the plane of automatic behaviour and thus how effectively he is enculturated

Cultural responses moreover tend to represent reactions to total situations than to stimuli arising from fragmented elements of experience This is a way of phrasing the fact that every mode of life is patterned and not haphazard that the individual units of custom the cultural traits so called that can be discerned in a culture by the student of it are in actuality interwoven into a series of interrelated groupings called cultural patterns This patterning of culture the outer expression of its regularity in organization and functioning is the means by which a particular culture develops those special configurations that permit us to differentiate it from other cultures In psychological terms cultural patterns are to be regarded as consensuses of the individual behaviour patterns of the members of a given group that distinguish their characteristic reactions from those of the members of other groups On the level of the objective analysis of culture cultural patterns are to be thought of as providing the institutional framework for behaviour as when we speak of the pattern of marriage of a people or their patterns of production or distribution or their patterns of religious worship

Besides conditioning the individual to the modes of behaviour of his group the enculturative experience creates for him a behaviour world to guide his perceptions no less than his overt acts Time and space and distance colour and rhythm are thus culturally defined for him the continuum of nature is structured in terms of the conventions set up by his culture[1] The spectrum is arbitrarily divided into colours which vary in their interpretation from society to society but
for all The gamut of
the infinite physical
socially acceptable intervals or the division of time is guided by linguistic devices employed to mark off one socially conceived unit from another The endless merging of natural phenomena comes to be subsumed under categories that make the world comprehensible to the individual and permit the character of reality to be transmitted from one generation to the next

A. I H ll w ll Cult ral F tors in th S ru t l tion f Percep ion *Social P hology at he C road* (J H R hre d M. Sh f ed) N w Y k 95 p. 64 95

o the techniques he will employ in drinking or the ideals of beauty that will stimulate him sexually

In terms of the bio-psychic requirements of the organism cultural imperatives represent derived needs but the responses to them are none the less powerful because they are derived and not primary One of the outstanding characteristics of the human infant is the generalized character of h of behaviour His motor habits are unco … s generalized a d h … s satisfaction … is entirely dependent o … q uements his development in one very significa … aspect consists of a series of responses to those with whom he is in contact We thus come to that aspect of the process of enculturation called socialization especially as this occurs in infancy and early childhood. As we have seen socialization provides the mechanisms whereby the infant is integrated into his group experiencing increasing degrees of control over his modes of behaviour and thought which are taken over first from the members of his immediate family and then, as he grows older from a widening circle of associates

As the patterns of motor behaviour and emotional responses become more sharply structured in the growing individual so does the motivational system F eud and his followers have demonstrated how large a role the motivational forces that determine the behaviour of the individual play in shaping his personality structure From a developmental point of view their findings have demonstrated how early in his existence the resulting pattern of responses manifest in later life are laid down As one psychologist has phrased it While personal histories differ in details most of them suggest that a predominant motive is established in childhood largely through the influence of social contacts. As the individual gets older one activity after another may be taken up while others wh ch no longer contribute to the satisfaction of the pre dominant motive o which contribute less than the new activity are dropped 1

The emphasis here is on the individual but if we approach the question f om a cross-cultural point of view we find in overt behaviour as in these underlying psychological drives that ind vidual variation is limited by a culturally defined framewo k Though the problem of the degree to which these fundamental aspects of the human personal ty structure are culturally influenced has been studied only for a relatively short time our growing knowledge of how the individual responds to the cultural situation into which he is born has f ced acceptance of the principle that culture is a major factor in shaping esponses on all levels

For our purpo e the key in the formulation that has been cited is that the predominant motives which rule the lives of individuals are established largely through the influence of social contacts Into cross-cultural terms this brings into play the facto of consensus For since methods of infant care and child training will within the limits of individual and regional variation, follow reasonably consistent patterns in achieving the enculturation of the individual it follows that each member of a given society will have been exposed to similar experiences in the early years of his existence when s much of his personality structure is under formation The implications of thus fact tak us ov r the entire range of problems that are contained in the

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Norman L. Munn, *Psychology The Fundamentals f H ma Ad ustment*, 2nd ed. N York 95 p.

existence or is a derived reality that lodges in the minds of observers rather than in the phenomenon itself

Controversies of this order mark the approach of scientists in any field to their data and turn on questions of the highest importance as means by which fundamental research is oriented For those outside the field however the relevance of these differing positions is of a lesser order Thus in studying problems of the psychology of culture it is more important for us to analyse the cultural component in terms which represent agreement as to the nature and function of culture than it is to enter into the peripheral areas where concept and method are under refinement Conversely in studying the same interdisciplinary problems from the psychological point of view those prin ciples that represent the core of agreement among psychologists must not be subordinated to any particular position that has been taken regarding them We have seen that the learning process is fundamental in culture but in studying the cross cultural manifestations of education for example the varieties of learning theory come to hold a place of secondary importance On the other hand in an investigation of this type the general principle that *social behaviour is essentially learned while the genetic instinctual component* is minimal a question where controversy has been resolved into agreed principle is of primary significance

Whatever the approach to the problem of motivation it is agreed that one of its important functions is to aid the organism continuously to reach the adjustment required by the total situation in which it finds itself In terms of gestalt psychology this represents at any given moment a striving for the achievement of equilibrium in the total field situation There are many theories about its nature and development one of which that stresses the factor of need being strikingly similar to the hypothesis we have encountered in discussing theories of the nature of culture—one which it may be said is subject to quite similar reservations For our purpose we recognize that to the extent motivational drives arise out of the psycho physical make up of man they are universal and can be thus held as constants in analyzing the variables represented by their socially and culturally derived manifestations The physiological universals that is enter only in terms of the manner and degree to which the experience of the individual as expressed in the cultural and physical setting shapes his choices between alternatives providing him with the values which direct his approaches to given situations and guide his reactions to them

Whatever the approach to the problem of motivation it is agreed that one of its important functions is to aid the organism in reaching adjustment of the kind which may be thought of as the psychological equivalent of the phy siological state termed homeostasis In terms of gestalt psychology this represents the achievement of equilibrium in the total field situation It is obvious that the needs of the organism figure prominently in determining *these reactions* as where the individual is motivated to look for food or to find shelter from extreme heat or cold or to seek sexual gratification Yet in the final analysis there is relatively little of human behaviour in the precise terms in which this behaviour is manifested that can be immediately attributed to this source Even in such elementary responses as those to food or thirst or sex the intervening term of social convention always enters

It is cultural conditioning that determines at what time of the day a person feels hungry and what types of food he will seek to satisfy his hunger drive

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manifestation on the social level of those elements in the total experience of the individual members of a group which hold most interest for them From
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importance in achieving the unities of a world economic order has brought questions of this kind to the forefront of scientific concern

One of the major aspects of our problem has been phrased by Moore [1] What kinds of circumstances will induce workers to leave traditional modes of production and enter modern economic activity and what additional circumstances are necessary to secure skills and services essential to the industrial mode of p oduction with its attend nt specialization? Let us extend this formulation by phrasing some of the ancillary questions that the study of ec nomic change in ts broadest ramifications involves

A comp ehensive approach must include a consideration of how economic expressions of value are e-ordered into terms of money where money did not p eviously exist o to currency where the tokens used in effecting exchange were not pecuniary ones It should take into account ho v people are introduced to the concept of saving as related to the allocation of income so as to provide capital funds for ndustrial development with future rather than immediate return the end in view New attitudes towards the acquisition of unfamiliar goods of all kinds must be probed and how patterns of the validation of social positi n by the consumption of valuable goods in excess of daily needs are changed The attitudes toward the degree of specialization under industrial development that so materially alters the satisfactions a worker derives from participation in an industrial order based on the handicraft system must also be analysed

One caution arising out of th record of past research should be drawn This concerns the tendency undoubtedly a reflection of the unconsciously enculturated thnocentrisms of the tudent to overweight the power of the industrial tradition to impose itself on technological and economic orientations of peoples who live under less complex systems Where the approach is primarily from the economic or technological po nt of v ew this is understandable in view of the differences in complexity and achievement between the systems of non industrial peoples and that of Euro-America This difference is demonstrably so great that without an appreciation of the

b t t os o i g What is often not taken into account is the fact that

[1] Wilbert E. Moore, *Ind strial ation nd Labor Social pect f Econom Development* Ithaca and New York,

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simple statement of everyday observation that peoples differ from one another These problems however despite their importance have scarcely been more than adumbrated and because of their complexity face the student with methodological difficulties that are far from resolved and which therefore need not enter into this discussion

What is important is that the common elements in the enculturative experience of the members of a given group set up particular drives that characterize the responses of those who make up its adult components as against equally characteristic responses of the members of other groups It is out of this fact that derived needs however expressed in a society come to carry the same conviction to its members as those which are patently determined by biological requirement This explains in large measure why the ends sought by men and women of a particular society are patterned since from a cross cultural point of view these are no more than socially sanctioned responses to prevalent motivational drives The configuration of common motives and goals that dominate the behaviour of the members of a group thus become the equivalent of what in the analysis of culture has been termed cultural focus the sum of the institutionalized forms of a culture which in commanding the interests of a people represents those of its components which most highly motivate the people and in which the goals toward which their activities are directed bring the richest rewards as culturally defined

An approach to the problem of motivation that has significant implications for the cross cultural analysis of problems such as those with which we are concerned here is found in the concept of the dynamic system advanced by Krech[1] to account for the continuity of characteristic responses found in the individual He holds first that the so called motivational and cognitive attributes will be involved in every one of our experiences and behaviour and that the so called motivational attributes of any experience will be intimately related to all other attributes and will change as they change Continuing he states If we wish to speak of a hunger motive for example we must simultaneously speak of the so called perceptual cognitive memorial and other attributes of the experience My hunger is not the same as yours because my Dynamic System *re* food and eating are not the same as yours And neither you nor I can have any pure sex motive—they are both sullied by cognitive factors Therefore since Dynamic Systems are relative enduring structures it follows that the given system of an individual functions in any situation in which he finds himself so that behaviour will show both variability and consistency in its motivational and emotional *and* intellectual aspects

It is apparent that if we accept this postulate that knowing and wanting form a single psychological unit and agree that in cultural terms both knowledge and wants are established for the individual through his enculturative experience we have here a principle of some importance for cross cultural study This is especially the case where we are concerned with economic factors in cultural change since here both means and ends must be taken into account where either the technological system or the system of production distribution and exchange or both are involved At this point we return to the concept of cultural focus which as we have seen is the

D d Krech Cogni on d M i tion in Psych l gical Theory in *C rrent T end* *Psy hological Theory* W yn Denn *et al.* Pitt burgh 95 P 3

industrial scene? What precisely is the effect of the colour bar in industry as manifest in unequal wa e scales segregation in jobs differing approaches to unionization differentials in housing? What are the relation of these to the culture-bar that arises out of the d fferences in *opportunity to reach* those standards of living and educat on set for persons deemed fully prepared to d ection of affa rs? Must w e not also recogni e the need r he Europeans in the scene phasis laid on the need to native people concentrate on the po u

It is illuminatin to read the exposition of the total problem as exemplif ed n the approach to the practical ssue of housing Africans in the city of Elizabethville that has been given by Grévisse[1] Here full recognition is accorded the importance of taking pre established attitude and social r ns and Afr cans al ke fully into consideration — s Mod ingereux cans ho it into the f them not embers of t e evolving u e u moins conforme a leur pnx des luer dans l ordr se stabiliser se uet ire sociale qui sans plus etr tribale n en conservera pas mo ns un caractere original r flet de l ame bantoue et des constantes physiques et histo ques du milieu africain Th t is the objective for the African is étoffer une solide classe moyenn anc e par la propriete et stimulée toujours davantage par des ap cit s profess onnelles sans cesse accrues

Let u bri fly review the theoretical sch me that has been presented in these pages The princ pal concepts with wh ch we have dealt are motivation and cultural p tt rn Motivation ev n on the biological level we have seen to be stru tured by the cultural sett ng n wh ch behaviour occurs Enculturat on the pr c ss of ultural cond t oning p ovides the mechanism of learning wh ch permits the ind vidual to act in accordance with the accepted modes of his soc ety with th promptness and decisi eness that so largely comes from the utomatic hara ter of his responses These patterned react ons thus both satisfy the requi ements of his primary b olog cal needs and secondary drives d make poss ble his physical well be ng and psychological adjustment

E ery culture h wev r is made up of aggregates of patterns These consist of ultural elements which to the members of a society appear as integrat d units Beha iour thus takes on its configurat onal quality and as objectively disc rnibl p esents overt esponses to the internalizat on of culturally patterned experi nces F m this t becomes pparent that the study of any segm nt of a cultur t the exclusion of other elements or of the psychological base makes for a distorted view whether on the level of cultural stimulus o socially p tterned response Hence analysing economic or technological

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[1] Grévisse, Le Centre Extra-Co umier d Elizabethville *Bullet T mestriel d Centr d'E de de P blèmes Socia nd gènes* (CEPSI) no. 5 5 p 3

we are here confronted with a question of ultimate values where material gain may be discounted despite the very considerable pull of positive incentives that Moore has documented in his research

Certainly it is much simpler to study the acceptance of change than the rejection of new ways One of the most difficult problems faced by students of any aspect of cultural change is the methodological one of how to bring the pre established elements in the scene into proper proportion in analyzing the resultant situation The lesson may be in the way of being learned in the hard school of experience We need not go to the various large scale schemes [illegible] see this We need only take the case of th[illegible] l expert in [illegible] the cul[illegible] [illegible]atively worked village land T[illegible] in terms of the strife engendered between the women of a village were as vigorous as they were unexpected We hear much of the disorganization which industrial development produces and especially how those who have received European education tend to lose their cultural anchorage and drift at a loss dissatisfied with the old because they have rejected it with the new because they cannot attain it Yet the number of educated Africans is not small who would agree with the sentiment expressed by such a person concerning one product of the pre existing technological system its wood carving If we don t take steps to save these things we will have nothing We ll be like people who don t have anything they can call their own culture

This does not mean that undue stress should be laid on the force of these pre existing patterns for this would be as unrealistic as is the prevalent tendency to neglect them Thus in the regions where a positive appreciation of established custom is found one also is confronted with the phenomena of urbanization people leaving their villages to live in towns and accepting the new discipline of employment in industry or trade or going to mine compounds where the reorientations in customary behaviour are even more extensive New prestige patterns develop under these situations that must be studied otherwise for example why in the mines of the Katanga would the young men prefer training as mechanics and artisans rather than as masons and carpenters? Or for example how do we explain the reorientation in motivating factors that causes a miner on the Rand to leave the security of the mine compound for the competitive labour market of secondary industry? Beyond this what motivations in this segment of the South African economy lie behind the turnover in labour of those who have apparently accepted this method of earning a living a turnover that is one of the highest in the world?

The variety of responses to the developing industrial scene coupled with the differences in the pre existing cultures and the range of different economic policies and practical measures to implement them to which they are exposed is what makes of Africa such an excellent laboratory for the study of our problem In studying it the factors which are operative in most of the continent give the controls essential for the comparative analysis of attitudes that accompany the changing economic no less than the changing social and political scene Or again granting acceptance of certain aspects of the new what is the role of the non economic habitudes in pre existing custom particularly those that concern the supernatural what forms do they take in situations dominated by the scientific approach that marks industrialization how do they influence the attitudes of Africans who come to participate in the

best. But I am not trying to cover the whole range of phenomena presented by these diverse societies What I hope to do is to set out some of the main cons derations involved when money is introduced to an economy in which it has formerly not been known or when there is a sudden expans on of the uses to wh ch it can be put This may indicate a framework of propositions for argum nt and research The presentat on is helped by the great variations found in the region On the one hand there are relatively s mple economic systems such as those of Tikop a or of the central highlands of New Guinea to which money is just being introduced on the other there is the relatively sophisticated economy of peasant Malays or Indonesians in which money of various types has been known and used for centuries in some transactions

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peasant producer has no interest in a t e p
but only in the income effects to be derived from it Just as conservatism in
ent on of traditional tools may be in part a compound of aesthetic and
h hmic use and quality of results and
so the welcome given to a new tool
or to a
ution of its better technical quality
the novel skills which can be developed with it and the social esteem wh ch ts control may bring But on the whole though these elements may influence the ad ption of a new technical device they are marginal to its permanent establishment In the long run it is the effects upon incomes and consumption levels both experienc d and ant c pated that seem to be of major importance In a peasant economy technological progress is not conceived as a normal desirable end towa ds which special sectors of economic effort should be
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p ocess When young men go out from the village work for wages the important s c al changes that come about may be due as much to the patterns and esults of the new type of work as to the fact that they get money f r t

Th rdly the p imary purpos of this paper s soc al theory not social
n Al e dy n some cases the accumulation and interpretation of

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CHARACTERISTICS AND EXCHANGE VARIANTS IN PEASANT ECONOMY

Befo discuss ng the social changes assoc ated with the intervention of a m ney econ my n the wide sens the majo characterist cs of an Indo-

factors alone is not sufficient to de... ormulations that strike deeply ... point toward workable solution

Whe... tory of our resources in the way of available data we find that our knowledge of the cultures of the non Euro-American ... is well advanced but that comparable ... The m... of peop... becomes one of ... nowledge the results of inter disciplinary investigations which will reveal the psychological patternings that underlie the behaviour individual and institutionalized that has been observed and reported To those studies in personality type that have dominat... of the cross cultural approach to the ... be added intensive researc... in perception and motivat... behaviour and shape the ... intensive use of all the resources of the psycho ethnographic approach then we may anticipate not only that we will move towards a more basic knowledge of human behaviour but that we will control and interpret more effectively the data that are essential to provide adequate scientific guidance for drawing and implementing sound policy in solving the problems of individual and social adjustment

MONEY, WORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDO-PACIFIC ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

R Firth

My main object in this paper is to examine the social effects of the introduction or expansion of monetary exchange in a peasant economic system An alteration of this kind in the technical media of exchange need not *a priori* have of itself any social concomitants It is theoretically possible for the appearance of a novel type of exchange medium such as money or for an enlargement of the amounts of money available and of its uses to have effect in economic terms alone facilitating the circulation of goods and their production without making any substantial changes in the social position of the people involved In fact however this is very unlikely—social values usually tend to be attached to the new income or consumption effects And even if income and consumption effects are not large the new experiences ... exc... ma...

I ...

Firstly the aim of this paper is analytical not ethnographic I am taking my examples from the Indo-Pacific region because that is the one I know

tion of human cho ces When we speak of the social implicat ons of technological change we do not mean that the total process is ine itable we mean only th t an initial acceptance or committal in the technolo ical field is likely to be follo ed by certa n results Some of these may be foreseen but others may not Yet it is these unforeseen results which are often of greatest impor hey are often undesired Being unexpected no provis on l is l n term rather than short term they sing the trend s omic systems cording to the

Several kinds of systei are those few degree to which money of Western type is cu systems where money is not used and purchasing po er is provided by ba k-cloth mats and shell goods There are those systems still common in the P c fic vhere West rn money is used for a limited range of transactions but here other articles of more traditional type also still have purchasing po er He e a a n there is var at on Some systems as on the south coast of New Guinea us ng money for most exchanges of goods and services reserve nd ther treasures for certain particularly important of human beings in hich role Others as on the Gazelle peninsul may al or multiple exchange med So n the Rabaul market one may see fruit and vegetables sold indiffer ently for t b cco for cowr e shells or for cash [2] Again there are the systems common n Indones a the Phil pp nes Malaya where money is the general medium fo a ange of tr nsact ons comparable with those of a Western rural c nomy The points of s gnificance n these distinctions are the types of ervices nd goods for th purchase of whi h money can be employed and the level or range of pur ha e which can be undertaken Every society has its con ent ons about wh ch kinds of goods and services are proper for calculation and exch n e n monetary terms and which are not One of the important implications of the ntroduction or enlargement of a money system in an economy is the re-estimat on of goods and particularly of serv ces which is l kely to follow Th s may me n n eff ct a re-orientati n of the moral values of the so ety One of the most meaningful aspects of the coming of a money economy may be d to be the introduct on of a medium of exchange with external as well as int rnal purchas n power Reference to an external standard is l k ly to tend at onc to a evis n of internal estimat ons and by offering hith rto unknown o unrealizable alte natives to alter conventional placings f esources S milar results are likely to follow from a rapid expansion of th monetary med um, as by the open ng up of new markets for labour or c mmod t es

EFFECTS OF INTRODUCTION TO A WAGE ECONOMY

Let us no examine in more detail vhat the economic and soc al results lik ly to be n a community where money with an external purchasing power

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Money London, 9) as to ho far uch eyond h pom of usefulnes hich do no media, bras arml ts) serv qually

Pacific peasant economy may be outlined [1] Th
and technology
There is no hig
of a limited cha range of goods and services involved In prices conventional estimations are apt to play a large part and a price is often not given monetary expression Control of the means of production is non capitalistic i e capital exists but the owner of it does not control the productive process there is no clear separation of capitalist rentier from worker management in the persons contributing to production or sometimes even in function when the person is the same This merging of factor control is seen also in the merging of rewards of production—the lack of separation of interest wages and management rewards for example The scale of producing units and the volume of product for any single unit are comparatively small The scheme of economic relations thus tends naturally to be of a more personalized order than in a Western economy This kind of economic system is closely geared to a type of society in which the social units over much of the field of operation are small with a local community emphasis in which leadership and authority are largely produced from within the local group and are often kinship based or kinship linked and in which local religious cults tend to strengthen the community in many of its operations Despite the great variation in scale and in sophistication such characteristics are common throughout the region

Such a system is conservative in the sense that there is rarely a wish to reject radically any of its major institutional elements[2] and substitute others But there may be no stubborn refusal to adopt new items There may be indeed an enthusiastic acceptance of them with the implication that they are additions to the economic and cultural stock of a system which retains its basic familiar character So subtly have new crops entered the economy of Indo Pacific communities that it is almost impossible to reconstruct any indigenous production scheme for agriculture The adoption in recent times of the drought resisting manioc in Tikopia for instance has made significant changes in the crop cycle and is likely to alter correspondingly the system of land use and tenure The substitution of steel axe for stone axe in the interior of New Guinea—a process now almost complete—seems to have led to greatly increased felling of primary forest with alteration of the balance in the provision of natural soil cover and increase in danger of soil erosion and loss of fertility Thus while the impetus to social change may be said to be given by a technological change this in itself has only been possible by an acceptance or committal —to use a fashionable term—which has welcomed the possibility of increased income in at least some limited
W
of
inc ciency of the new instruments or processes one must be willing to subject oneself (or others if one has command over their labour) to a new discipline In order to obtain the benefits one must forego some types of satisfaction hitherto enjoyed Change is the implica

F ther d tail gi in my *Malay F herme* Lo d

h hand the creation of new working roles especially those
may give some workers margins of
al economy and
new working
instance may
scheme A Papuan working on a
get four or five times as much in real wages
plantation or the roads

Yet the introduction of a *money economy* may also tend to remove from the labour market some marginal categories of labour which were absorbed
far as their limited capacity went in the traditional economy
many young persons who are not
employ
ment.

wage labour economic
which handles migrant labour

in families
n the economic structure Alternatively
outside the men's economic scheme

The income effects of these operations have repercussions in the wider economic and social spheres

The wage labour pattern tends to provide income in relatively large sums as against the small increments of local marketing in the more unsophisticated systems and thus may affect consumption patterns With the advent of a monetary economy there is also usually an enlargement of consumption patterns by taking in goods not purchasable by the traditional circulating media This involves the possibility of greater differentiation in property holding diversification of cultural interests owing to differences in taste and to a

ed in the
question as to which
type of work they prefer And when asked if
their income pay were increased greatly to two or three or even twelve times what they were receiving in addition to their food they still stated a prefer
the *conventional* notion about earning

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n decrease inc the target
wak
instance the only permanent form of investment is in land and they are used to preparing sago the main work *to procure* a certain level of income to meet family obligations to build a house to arrange a marriage Otherwise they do not produce sago If the price of sago is high and cash is therefore easy to obtain the women tend to reduce the time they spend in trampling

has not previously operated or has operated at only a very low volume of transactions For simplicity take first situations of money acquisition through wage payments as in a plantation economy What money may do in such circumstances is

It may introduce an element of uncertainty into the socio-economic operations of some people and reduce the relative level of skill nd l- f those not regularly handling t In T t

ome money but handled admittedly imperfect knowledge of its relations and the price levels of commodities within their economic universe They had to rely on others to undertake transactions for them By a few old men and many women there was still no real understanding of the nature of money and its operations This situation can be paralleled by the observat on of Odaka and his colleagues on the

sums involved were small limited But they were not able to figure out the values with ease many women and even some of the elders could not distinguish 5 sen from 10 sen and they confused sen and yen All this obviously gives an economic advantage and probably a status advantage too to those who take on an interpretative or middleman s role [1]

The introduction of money from wage labour may result in a temporary inflation or pseudo inflation in that the amounts of goods and services for which it is regarded as suitable equivalent may be relatively small and knowledge of the market imperfect Hence prices may be uneven as regards alternatives rise erratically and give windfall profits to some people in positions of temporary advantage

Money wages may reduce margins of skill ability and responsibility between workers in respect of traditional types of tasks For example on a plantation or in similar types of work where there is little differentiation made the common payment of flat rates per month means that all workers of the same classification get the same income irrespective of skill (Steadiness and energy may lead to retention in employment however) In the traditional e onom principles of equal sharing in teamwo k the

Diff idual or team piece work or b bonuses for higher output or by having a graded scheme of jobs can all tend to give expression to elements of skill and ability R all such work there is a general nd

K Od ka E nomic O g isation f th La T b f Il na Isl nd (Yale Southeast A ia Studie) Y l 95

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On the other h nd while the substitution of money for the traditional means of remun r ti n may enlarge the economic field it will not necessarily do so or do so to the extent expected In the scheme of preferences the attract ons of tradit onal non wage employment may still be h gh e ther subs stence agr culture etc or cash-cropp ng The Li of Ha nan worked in the iron mines because they were drafted not for the money To the question as to which type of w rk they preferred they all answered f rming And when asked if thei mine p y were ncreased greatly to two or three o even twelve times what they were re eiving n add tion to their food they st ll stated a prefer nc f r farm wo k Again while the conventional not on about earning money s that one g ts as much of t as one can the backward sloping supply urve f l bour f often found with the advent of a monetary reward for work The w ker is used to hav ng a ce tain level of consumption goods as his targ t and so long as he can reach th s he is satisfied So an increase n the rates of wages may result not n n ncreas of the amount of wo k done but n a decrease nc the ta get s reached sooner For the Melanau of Sarawak fo instance the nly permanent form of investment is in land and they are used to p eparing sag th ma n wo k to p ocure a certa n level of income,

the sago pith If a young man has earned enough money for clothes and customary presents to girls he stops felling and rasping sago palms The hardest workers are married men with young families or landless orph[illegible] marriageable age[1] For them the [illegible]

The [illegible] structu[illegible] [illegible] young able bo[illegible] accessible to their elders in quantities far greater [illegible] the traditional economic organization can [illegible] the effects must not be overest[illegible] out [illegible] tio[illegible] young men who thereby obt[illegible] Today when the young man works for money this only provides the initial impetus in dynamic situations Moreover as Hogbin points out proximity to a market may make a great difference to the situation In Busama which is near the small market town of Lae older men can earn small sums themselves and this mitigates the challenge of the young men

This alteration in income structure again may not necessarily involve a corresponding alteration in the wealth structure of the community This depends on how far three elements operate

1 Traditional arrangements for control of income may still be recognized which secure to the senior members of the community the major handling of what income is obtained In many Pacific societies returning plantation labourers hand over to their father or other senior kinsman a considerable portion of their wages Hogbin notes that among Busama men on the north coast of New Guinea it was the usual practice to give to the guardian (father or uncle) about half the wages brought back about one quarter to another uncle and to divide [illegible] members of the com[illegible] [illegible]nself[3] In 1952 [illegible] making up a [illegible] hooks etc [illegible] buted to each of these—to the boxes of other chiefs as well as that of his own clan chief—and they amounted to a substantial tribute
2 New forms of arrangement may still retain the general control by the senior members of the community or the community interest in the use of the new wealth A case of this is the collection of funds by Toaripi people (of southern New Guinea) working for wages in Port Moresby to help finance the purchase and transport of a trading schooner to carry their copra[4]
3 Competing attractions for the use of income may tend to drain off some of the accumulated income In some societies the pressure of the demands of young women results in large scale spending on female consumption goods which reduce the amounts of money taken back home Or again

H. S M[illegible] *R port* [illegible] *Melana[illegible] S[illegible] P[illegible]oduc[illegible] C[illegible]mm[illegible]* [illegible] *S[illegible]* (Col. R[illegible]search S[illegible]) [illegible] 953 p [illegible]
H I H[illegible]gb[illegible] *F[illegible]* [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]ogb[illegible] [illegible]
H. [illegible]
R[illegible]ym[illegible]d F[illegible]rth

if savings banks or savings societies have managed to be established the accumul t on of cap tal there may mean that the alteration of the wealth structure takes a long time to become visible or to have ts effect on product on or consumpt on

Other effects of a wage labour system may include a reduction in the independence of omen whose incomes now may be comparatively reduced o who may ha e to rely more directly on their menfolk for cash to buy what they want It may mean also the creation of more vulnerable categories of persons—in al ds old folk deformed etc Since they cannot be enlisted for labour they are thrown mo e on the resources of others especially if there is a redu t on n the trad t onal forms of employment or if monetary standards tend also to be appl ed to employment within the society

COMMODITY PRODUCTION AND TRADE

If especially at the rates generally prevailing in Indo- n capital resources s in the economic and soci l structure Comm ou ty p n on the other hand off r more scope If we consider commodity marketing for cash such as occurs n many p rts of the regi n we are at once confronted with a different ange of m nitudes th n for wage labour The vegetable marketing of the Mal y o Bornean peasant oman may b ing in only a few cents per day—an n ome wh h ho ever does allow of ndependent subsistence by many members of vulne able social catego ies such as widows or d vorcees At the the nd f the c le a Malay or Chinese master fisl erman or vegetable grow r o rubber p duc r or a New Guinea or Ga ella Pen nsula copra nnual earnings n thousands of dollars or hundreds at least a marked change in the size the trans t on of many of the people from w e lab ur to ommodity p oduction and ma ket ng

Th me general effects n the ncome and wealth structu e w th similar there ar certain

ong the econom c ity of the income incalculable elements of drought flood whil fluctuations of ra v material prices o sudden and more severe w th the c mmod ty p oduce than to the l bourer since wages tend to have a d st nct l g n response to ch n es n aw mater al prices This tends then to involve d ffe nt type of sel ct vity in the economic p ces The entrepreneur in ommod ty production o mark t ng tends to emerge as an individual with mo e d st nct e onom respons b lit es sh rper n percept on of economic

An in eresting d scri f processe in in Indonesi h been given by J H. Boek op cit p C. Be sh h dr wn en di erences in proport on be een plan on labo d pe san

advantage often impatient of claims of his communal obligations On the other hand his need for initial capital may make him continue in close relation with others of the community on whom he may draw And the need for equable relations with labour may lead him to continue in working association with kinsfolk and others in traditional patterns There is also the tendency for the general social values of his community to weigh heavily with him especially if there be added to them additional elements resulting from inter racial competition or conflict

Hence there is the common tendency for the entrepreneur in such conditions to operate within a local social milieu The complex interchange of goods and services involved in the production or marketing scheme until th t me h he good

l u u duu ai u community interest it may be hard to identify the shares which go to economic functions rather than to persons As has been often discovered book keeping in such circumstances may be a difficult task Too literal adherence to the rules of accountancy may rob the operations of much of their spontaneity Yet a good index of the extent to which the advent of a monetary economy has brought with it Western economic notions is the effective accounting system practised for example by some of the co-operative societies in New Guinea and elsewhere One of the useful functions of the new entrepreneur however is to act as stimulus and example to his fellows

One of the great problems in this whole field is that of capital formation While commodity production and marketing offer possibilities of building up considerable wealth they may also lead to great difficulties The operation of a monetary system with access to external consumer s markets can lead to high rates of expenditure and to the contraction of debts at a level virtually impossible in a traditional non monetary system If there is a depress on n h —

u u u i the largest coconut area The debts were mainly to Chinese and Chettiar money lenders contracted in times of high prices and there was little prospect of their ever being repaid Indebtedness is of course a great bane of the peasant everywhere and its effects are if anything increased the more the economy is related to external markets And since so much of the indebtedness is contracted not for the financing or production but to meet consumption requirements there is little opportunity of building up capital thereby in any general fashion When individuals enrich themselves by l nd ng h

On the other hand organizations which both meet the need for capital greater than that which any individual entrepreneur can provide and yet peg the enterprise to some kind of community interest have been devised in a number of areas Among the Maori of New Zealand co-operative organizations are of many years standing Some establish the communal title holders of land as incorporated owners of land and give them the legal right of borrowing funds with which to develop the land in the interest of them all Under the leadership of the late Sir Apirana Ngata a former Minister for Maori Affairs State aid was obtained for these organizations in various ways

-- k nm of some magnitude have been the enterprises a new set of an lay do n policy and men has eme geu administer affa rs l ke a Western business man

Ref rence to land holding ra ses another aspect of this problem In many of the unsophisticated economic systems there is no free market in land As the syst ms become transmuted by the advent of a money economy a market in land may develop with relative freedom of transfer often only with k n group approval In some systems for instance s to land allo ving to individuals ghts of transfer and transmission ocial groups but some limitations insmission v ere regulated by the courts In such conditio s s c th of a commodity market gives a fillip to the use of land changes in the social structure may be stimulated In the attempt to gain an income from land either by personal production or by sale or lease there have been among the Maori of New Zealand and the Cook Islands, for example an intensified interest in kin ties as giving title to lands disputes over land with much litigation in the courts and a tendency n some cases for departure from tradit onal customs of land inheritance in fa our of testamentary disposition Apart from this there has in New Zealand d much subsequent consolidation There are nts i a simple non m net ry peasant eco omy o rn type w th commod ty markets nd ma kets for labour greatly increased the diff rentiati n n the status of people and has affected the Maori social system

produ r

mall scale producers with a strongly matrilineal system of lineage g o ps nd l neag leadership and w th a trad tional interest n the culti at on of valley r ce The dvent of rubber has made for substant al changes In sum mary th y are these There was of old a distinction between the ancestral land th rice plots in the valleys worked generation after generation largely by w men nd th new lands cleared from the jungle by men and retained by them as the p oduct of the r labour The latter they could transmit to their sons the former w re transmitted through the r sisters in their own lineage and through thei w es No man could pass ancestral lands on to his son. In th clearings ere grown fruit and vegetables essentially secondary in eco mic importance to the staple ce Then less than half a century ago came the cult vat on of rubber Soon the economic balance of production tended to be upset It was fa mo e profitable to p oduce rubber than rice r bbe l nd S m of th

fr m f ther to n On the v hole the tendency has been for the interest of the men to be t ngth ned n the control of such lands

Moreover the more general tendency has been to promote a change in the inheritance system from matrilineal to patrilineal This has not been so in the lands classed definitely as ancestral (*tanah pesaka*) h L s tended to become manifest d n I
I
S o Islamic
o grounds as well with the local *adat*
(y rules) Furthermore these forces together were in support of and to some degree assisted by the interest of the ruler and his kinsfolk a group of patrilineal descent rules and opposed in some respect to the matrilineal descent leaders by whom they were surrounded and on whom the
rely in the body politic as a whole Tho
overt it
their st Thus
a simpl , different processes involved
in the of rubber meant also important changes in the social structure

Finally one may characterize the subject in more general terms again As the influence of a monetary economy grows there is a tendency for the scale of social relations to widen as new contacts are formed On the
hand there is fragmentation and re align
and othe
and all
into sim mily organization is seen
to be vu changes occur in relations of husband and wife through labour or differential production there is exaggeration or reversal of the economic differences between generations and different frames of reference for social experience appear the authority structure may alter As the processes continue new structural arrangements may be formed with new class alignments and new patterns of leadership The requirements of new legal norms and the new ethics of business involve different behavioural sequences There may be a shift of symbols not only of wealth but also of so
political authority At the sam
are as it were obtruded as
solidarity which may in fact be threatened or lost in other fields

The resultant of all these forces is likely to be an economy and a society not in equilibrium but with conflicts of ends and conflict about means to secure agreed ends These processes of social and economic change are not novel But the diversification of technical skills is
are for the most part
is increasing The wi
the growing differen to suggest that it is not in the realm of shared empirical knowledge and skill that common factors of unity are likely to be found But to think that the future co-ordinating elements may lie in non-empirical systems of ideas suggests also reliance on fairly short term solutions

MAHATMA GANDHI S VIEWS ON MACHINES AND TECHNOLOGY

D P MUKERJI

at any study of the social changes sed primarily on an understanding ch introduces technology and the s ciety to which it is introduced cond tions are crystallized in two systems of values one which has accepted and the other which has not accepted technical progress as des rable or technological advance as a self evident good (R K Merton *Social Theory and Social Stru ture* ch xi i p 317) and further if the strains of technological ad ance which any scheme of technological assistance brings in its wake must be reduced or eliminated so as t rend r the assistance genuinely effective then one of the chief concerns of the soc olo ist as well as of the technical adm nistrator is the discovery of the terms of th normative system of both countries concerned This does not ches on the social effects of techno-

examp w th Western Europe) on Asian countries (believed to be of sta e) the u de lying assumpt on that technological ad ance is a self-evident good should be brought t the surface so as to clear the way for the com p rative normati e app oach It is heartening to kno v that eminent Western oc olo ists hav eco nized the impo tance of this approach

But it is d shea tening that no formulat on of the Eastern value-system n Eastern soc ologist One reason for this may be that

may be that those who could the ry people who bel eve in technical advance as a self-evident good and theref e do not w rry about the problem beyond the stage of annoyance with wh h in the v ew a welfare state or a similar rlater Certain economic oo committed to techno-log cal ad nce to be anxious to study the of value systems involved n th resultant stra n Though one hears about cottage industries and their pl n Indian lif nd not ces arnest admin strat ve encouragements the mpo tan e att ched to them eems to be mainly on the sco e of their being able to p ovide some mployment to those who are be ng thrown out of mpl yment by technological advance Gandhiji however was deeply nd p m rily concerned with the value systems There we e others too but th y e less kn wn G ndh ji put h s v ews ery sharply indeed One may not l ke his mann of pos ng the p obl m one may conside t as partial one may d smiss it f one chooses s many educated m n and industrialists of India have ch n But his tatements r main a challenge to th ent e problem of technological change and sch mes of t chn cal assistence They should be taken ser ously because many new d tu b ng f atu es of Ind an life cannot

be explained or removed otherwise From them one might also infer that the term underdeveloped economy which is the excuse of technical assistance was inappropriate insofar as it confused the co existence of two different value systems by placing them on the assembly line of historical development in which economic growth being the supreme value was subservient to and dependent only upon technological advance Perhaps Gandhiji was unfair to the European civilization it may also be that he did not subscribe to the unilinear concept of history But it is certain that he had other values and his understanding of India at least was unerring We Indians love to think that Gandhiji s views correctly represent the unformulated values of the vast majority of the Indian population towards social changes They as he would say would welcome change on their own human terms

Let us know exactly what he said in regard to machines and when (He never used the word technology but it is clear that he meant it) Much misunderstanding of his position prevails everywhere But he did not want to be misunderstood in fact the very clarity of his style leaves no room for misunderstanding The first unequivocal statement of his position occurs in *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule* written originally in Gujerati on the return voyage from London to South Africa in 1908 in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa It was first published in the columns of *Indian Opinion of South Africa* in the form of the editor s answers to readers queries In this period Gandhiji was finding himself through many a personal and a few social experiments Violence had become the desperate creed of Indian nationalists He was analysing this creed all the time digging its base so to say and reaching towards an alternative moral creed *Hind Swaraj* was the first formulation and bears all the marks of religious conversion The subsequent history of the book is interesting but not quite relevant here But it is on record that in January 1921 Gandhiji would withdraw nothing except one word of it and that in deference to a lady friend As Mahadev Desai wrote in his preface to the 1938 edition Even in 1938 he would alter nothing in the book except perhaps the language in some parts We will see however that certain alterations were made but they were more in the nature of elaboration in terms of reality e g the relative unpreparedness of Indian people for the practice of a higher simplicity and renunciation which he knew to be India s values than as deviations from a fundamental position

His writings show (letter to a friend quoted [illegible])
that his [illegible]
tion was [illegible]
but on th[illegible] between the values of different civilizations *Hind Swaraj* discusses this issue with eloquence and poses the conflict between Indian values and Western values in pure white and pure black Many historians and sociologists would be more cautious about India s ancestry about her deliberate wisdom in rejecting machinery city life and the evils thereof They would question the latent virtuous assumptions about India s past and her society They would attribute them mostly to lack of [illegible] [illegible]ıbit of making a virtue of necessity [illegible] of spiritual values in the Western [illegible]w order of social values prevailing [illegible] and new But here at last was the Indian positing of a felt contrast in the fierce clarity of exaggeration The exaggeration was similar to that of a rebel slave who would assert with vehemence his own

al terms At the same time it was not a
ndia and the East It was not a protest
an whose life is interrupted by disease
lha It was essentially a moral rebellion
old age or death as was which Gandhiji defined as good
couched in the social terms of civilization which Gandhiji defined as good
conduct with the entire weight on performance of duty and observance of
morality The supreme duty was to attain mastery over mind and passions
in the performance of which we know ourselves that is knowledge accrues
The performance implied proper use of hands and feet and the process led
to the limitation of indulgences reduction of wants and simplification of
life All these ideas formed a whole pattern of thought beliefs attitude and
action which placed Indian civilization in sharp opposition to what he some
times called the Western at other times the European but what was really
civilization centred on material values.

G dh s ideas In October 19 4 soon

asked (*Mahatma* vol 2 p 2)

R Are you against all machinery?

G How can I be when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine a little tooth pick is a machine Wh t I object to is the craze for machinery not machinery as such The craze is for what they call labour saving machinery Men go on saving labour till thousands are without work and thrown on the streets to d e of starvation. I want to save time and labour not for a fraction of mankind but for all I want the concentration of wealth not in the h nds of a few but in the hands of all. Today machinery helps a few to ride on th b cks of mill ons The impetus behind it is not the philanthropy to save labour but gre d It is against this constitution of things that I am fight ng with all my might

R Then you are fighting not aga nst machinery as such but aga nst its abuses wh ch are so much in ev dence today?

G I would unhes tatingly say yes but I would add that scientific truths and d sco e es should first cease to be mere instruments of greed Then labourers will not be overworked and machinery instead of becom ng a hindranc will be a help I am aiming not at erad cation of all machinery but limitat on.

R When logi ally a gued out that would imply that all complicated power dri n m h nery should go

G It might have to g but I must make one th ng clear The supreme ons derat on s man The mach n should not tend to keep atrophied the limbs of man Fo nstance I would make ntell gent exceptions Take the case of the S nger Sewing Machine

R But n that cas there would have to be a factory for making these S ng Sew ng Machines and t would have to contain power-driven mach nery of d nary type

G Yes su ely But I am Socialist enough to say that such facto ies should be nat onalized or tat -contr lled They ought only to be working under the most attractive and d al cond tions not f r profit, but for the benefit of human ty lov taking on the plac of greed as the mot ve It is an alteration

be explained or removed otherwise From them one might also infer that the term underdeveloped economy which is the excuse of technical assistance was inappropriate insofar as it confused the co existence of two different value systems by placing them on the assembly line of historical development in which economic growth being the supreme value was subservient to and dependent only upon technological advance Perhaps Gandhiji was unfair to the European civilization it may also be that he did not subscribe to the unilinear concept of history But it is certain that he had other values and his understanding of India at least was unerring We Indians love to think that Gandhiji s views correctly represent the unformulated values of the vast majority of the Indian population towards social changes They as he would say would welcome change on their own human terms

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Swaraj was the first form
The subsequent history
But it is on record tha withdraw nothing except one word of it that in deference to a lady friend As Mahadev Desai wrote in his preface to the 1938 edition Even in 1938 he would alter nothing in the book except perhaps the language in some parts We will see however that certain alterations were made but they were more in the nature of elaboration in terms of reality e g the relative unpreparedness of Indian people for the practice of a higher simplicity and renunciation which he knew to be India s values than as deviations from a fundam

His writings show (letter to a f)
th
tio
but ues of different
civi this issue with eloquence and poses the conflict between Indian values and Western
black Many histor
ancestry about he city life and the evils thereof T the latent virtuous assumptions about India s past and her society They would attribute them mostly to lack of opportunities and the incurable human habit of making a virtue of necessity Nor would they fail to detect a high order of spiritual values in the Western European or modern civilization and a low order of social values prevailing in the East in India old and new But here at last was the Indian positing of a felt contrast in the fierce clarity of exaggeration The exaggeration was similar to that of a rebel slave who would assert with vehemence his own

al terms At the same time it was not a ndia and the East It was not a protest an whose life is interrupted by disease old age or death as was lha. It was essentially a moral rebellion couched in the social terms of civilization which Gandhiji defined as good conduct with the entire weight on performance of duty and observance of morality The supreme duty was to attain mastery over mind and passions in the performance of which we know ourselves that is knowledge accrues The performance impl ed proper use of hands and feet and the process led to the limitation of indulgences reduction of wants and simplification of life All these ideas formed a whole pattern of thought beliefs attitude and action which placed Indian civilization in sharp opposition to what he some times called the Western at other times the European but what was really civilization centred on material values

dh s ideas In October 1924 soon

the place of Art n national ie asked (*Mahatma* vol 2 p 212)

R. Are you against all machinery?

G How can I be when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine a little tooth pick is a machine What I obj ct to is the craze for machinery not machinery as such The c aze is for what they call labour saving mach nery Men go h sands are without work and thrown on the tion the w to

h nds of a few but in the na us Th impetus behind it is not the philanthropy m

its

R. Th n you are fighting

abuses which are so much in evid nce today?

G I would unhes tat ngly s y yes but I would add that sc entific truths and disc er es hould first cease to be mere nstruments of greed Then labourers will not be overworked and machinery instead of becoming a hind ance vill b a help I am aiming not at eradicat on of all machinery but limitat on.

R When log cally a gued out that would imply that all compl cated power dri en ma h n ry should go

G It might ha e to go but I must make one th ng clear The supreme cons de at on is man The mach ne should not tend to keep atrophied the limbs f man F r instanc I would make intelligent exceptions Take the cas f the S nge Sewing M hine

R But in that ca e ther would hav to be a factory f r making these S nger Sewing Mach nes and it would have to contain power-driven ma hinery f d nary type

G Yes su ely But I m Soc alist enough to say that such factories should They o h l to be work ng der

in the conditions of labour that I want This mad rush for wealth must cease and the labourer must be assured not only of a living wage but a daily task that is not a mere drudgery The machine will under these conditions be as much a help to the man working it as to the state or the man who owns it The present mad rush will cease and the labourer will work as I have said under attractive and ideal conditions This is but one of the exceptions I have in mind The sewing machine had love at its back The individual is the one supreme consideration The saving of labour of the individual should be the object and honest humanitarian considerations and not greed the motive Therefore replace greed by love and everything will come right

Next morning the interview was continued Ramchandran persisted

R If you make an exception of the Singer Sewing Machine and your spindle where would these exceptions end?

G Just where they cease to help the individual and encroach upon his individuality The machine should not be allowed to cripple the limbs of man

R But I was not thinking just now of the practical side Ideally would you not rule out all machinery? When you except the sewing machine you will have to make exceptions of the bicycle the motor car etc

G No I don t because they do not satisfy any of the primary wants of man Ideally however I would rule out all machinery even as I would reject this very body which is not helpful to salvation and seek the absolute liberation of the soul From that point of view I would reject all machinery but machines will remain because like the body they are inevitable The body itself as I told you is the *purest piece* of mechanism but if it is a hindrance to the highest flights of the soul it has to be rejected

The quotation is important from many points of view The views expressed in 1924 seem to mark a departure from those of 1908 Gandhiji was a realist in the best sense of the term The seeds that had been sown in the *Hind Swaraj* grew into a plant in the upturned soil of India Gandhiji had started the non co operation movement and the Khilafat movement but he realized that the people of India were not yet ripe for the supreme renunciation his values demanded Non violence and Truth could not be the bread of the masses That was the bitter lesson of Chauri Chaura (1922) The masses wanted bread and for them God was bread and bread was God A terrible famine raged in Orissa and it haunted his dreams In various cities of India strikes occurred and their lesson was not lost on him His sense of limits a gift which every moral genius must possess came into play And in that process he realized a few historical truths It was clear to him that the impetus behind the large scale use of machinery was profit or greed —which was in the constitution of things as they were and not philanthropy or love that today machinery helps a few to ride on the backs of millions that the labourer must get a living wage and a secure daily task and his labour should not be drudgery and above all that man that is the labourer was the supreme consideration In Gandhiji s view man was the producer the bread worker by hand an idea which he had imbibed early in his career in South Africa from Ruskin s *Unto This Last* which he had translated as *Sarvodaya* Gandhiji be it underlined would have nationalized or state controlled factories of power driven machinery to control the profit and produce for the benefit of humanity love taking the place of greed as the motive At this point

Gandhiji presumably believed that the State was and would be an agency for transforming greed into a love for humanity though elsewhere he was less hopeful All this appears to be a *move away from the uncompromising position* taken up in the *Hind Swaraj* Be that as it may it was not a sacrifice of his basic or he called it the ideal position Ideally however I would rule out all machinery even as I would reject this very body (the purest piece of machinery) which is not helpful to salvation and seek the absolute liberation of the soul This idea of salvation and absolute liberation from the body is in my view the key note of Gandhian values or Indian values as Gandhiji and many others would interpret them In short Gandhiji would have welcomed the natural destruction of machinery and mills together with law courts railways and hospitals but not a violent destruction By natural he appeared to have meant the potential nature of the scholastics—the nature that sprang from love purity simplicity and flowered in fulfilment and ... arose from the actual nature of man in India
(... 1921 A Word of Explanation)

These values it is obvious ... renunciation and non possession The Hindu idea of renunciation is not *vairagya* which is probably a Buddhist concept incorporated into Hinduism Renunciation in the Hindu sense is *aparigraha* (non possession) of the Geeta as Acharaya Vinoba has pointed out more than once in the pages of the *Harijan* (10 April 1949) The concept of love or altruism the good of all as opposed to the hedonistic calculus of the greatest good of the greatest number (*Autobiography* part iv ch viii *Young India* 9 December 1926) was probably a mixture of Vaishnava Christian and late Buddhist ideas Whatever its origins it worked very well indeed particularly as a means of propagation of Gandhiji s ideas among the masses In other words the ideal pattern of Hindu values was never forsaken by Gandhiji It was woven round wantlessness How could technology and machines geared to the production of goods for the satisfaction of wants which created more wants joint wants derived wants the infinite hyperbola of wants be consonant with the pattern of Indian norms How could such norms square for that matter with Economics grounded as it was on wants and their ... from the body be the utter sum ... who was aware of ... ze for machinery? ... machines helping a few to ride on the back of millions the concentration of power and wealth of justice for the labourer as man securing attractive conditions of life for him and of giving him security of employment etc etc would be subsidiary These latter in Gandhiji s opinion ultimately hinged upon non possession *aparigraha* wantlessness subordination of body and bodily wants to the need of the soul s liberation from its physical encasement which was *the* end

These subsidiary problems however were far from socially insignificant In the Gandhian view of life they were related to the means To many educated Indians they were the ends or the primary values Gandhiji had many opportunities of discussing them with those who were more sensitive to the

about a deathlike sameness in the nation Gandhiji met this argument on the highest level Taking his cue from the Hindu philosophical conception of oneness identity or sameness which Sankar had carried to its logical extreme Gandhiji held that behind a variety of occupations there is an indispensable sameness also of occupation After inveighing for [illegible]
both by European and Indian manufacturers
has its place it has come to stay But it must
necessary human labour An important plough [illegible] But if by some chance one man could plough up by some mechanical invention of his the whole of the land of India and control all the agricultural produce and if the millions had no other occupation they would starve and being idle they would become dunces as many have already become There is hourly danger of many more being reduced to that unenviable state I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine but I know that it is criminal to displace the hand labour by the introduction of power driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes (*Young India* 5 Nov 1925 *Mahatma* vol 2 p 283) Here was argument on the purely economic level of means that is of employment and unemployment (Also vol 4 34 p 238 9) To a modern Western economist it may appear to be old fashioned He thinks that he has devised excellent measures against various types of unemployment cyclical structural frictional seasonal and all that and he is not worried if even under full [illegible]
ment two to five per cent are [illegible]
by such theories and measure
had been wedded to industri [illegible]
to [illegible]
Th[illegible] Tagore is however
hist[illegible] say so long as some other occupation in their homes was not available—and it was not likely to be available in that historical context or in the near future because imperialist exploitation would not allow India to create alternative occupations—Gandhiji would stick to the spinning wheel and be against the displacement of labour by machinery In other words India in her present context should have labour intensive economy for the sake of full employment

Gandhiji was very respectful towards Tagore and as we have seen met the poet s cultural charge with economic arguments But he was not so soft towards the Indian Communist M P Mr Saklatwala in his reply to the latter s appeal which he duly published in *Young India* The differences with Tagore were not vital but with Mr Saklatwala they were Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* under the caption No and Yes

His facts are fiction and his deductions based upon fiction are necessarily baseless And where these are true my whole energy is concentrated upon nullifying their to me poisonous results I am sorry but we do stand at opposite poles There is however one great thing common between us Both claim to have the good of the country and humanity as our only goal Though we may for the moment seem to be goin[illegible]
meet some day I promise to make amer[illegible]
my error since I do not recognize it as

Having said this in true humility—
doubt it—Gandhiji reveals himself in
promising absolute non historical fa[illegible] He wrote

do not believe that multiplication of wants and
le step nearer
hole-heartedly
rease animal
detest this mad desire to destroy ... appet tes and go to the ends of the earth in search of the r satisfaction. If modern c vilization stands for all this and I have understood it to do so I call t satanic and with it the present system of government its best exponent

Then follo v some sentences v hich would remind one of the wrath of prophets but with a difference I would destroy that system today if I had the po ver I would use the m st deadly weapons if I believed that they v ould destroy it. I refrain only because the use of such weapons could only per petuate the system though t may destroy its present administration. Those who seek to destroy men rather than the r manners adopt the latter and become worse than those v hom they destroy under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with the men They do not know the root of the evil

The last paragraph seems to retain its pertinence today in spheres wider than the Indian The points to be noticed in Gandhiji s reply to Saklatwala s appeal are Gandhij s firm fa th in wantlessness as a cardinal human virtue
n the 'modern rush in which he included both the
day We may further note his association
nment in India. Strictly from the point
of basic values
t Techno-
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ggle which
ces in their
c advance which is held
But it is equally under
standable that nationalist, anti subj ... s and attitudes should be ntegrated w th the bas c values wh ch are or are nterpreted to be specific to the cultu e of the nation. While it is true that in this extract no reference
... n ness of the objection to the modern rush and the argu
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urely
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log cal
guments on the s o of excess ve p pulatio ... of bad distr'but on of wealth benefit t the n t on that is to say the welfare of the pe ple He ef rr d to unemployment again and again to bad health unwholesome food and to the decay of a t He categorically stated that

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impov ished that we ha e neglected our 100 000 villages. W have indeed thought of them but only to the ext nt of exploit ng them We read thrilling a ounts of the glory that was Ind of the land that was flo ving w th milk and honey but today it is a land of starv ng mill ons We are sitting in this

fine pandal under a blaze of electric lights but we do not know that we are burning these lights at the expense of the poor We have no right to use the lights if we forget that we owe these to them Gandhiji would seldom forget to remind his audience of their responsibility towards the people The word owe these to them is an English rendering of the Hindu concept of *rina* or debts contracted by every individual at his birth to his ancestors his gods sages and to nature the universe or society debts which must be duly discharged in the course of existence Hindu social organization is built on the principle of obligations which Gandhiji insisted on resuscitating in all social and economic spheres of activity *vide* his concept of rich men holding their riches in trusteeship for the poor Only in the sphere of political struggle against foreign rule would he allow the exercise of the Western sense of rights and these too hedged in by the sense of social obligations which was one vital significance of non violence Gandhiji continued There is a difference between the civilization of the East—the civilization of India—and that of the West

Formerly he had contrasted only the modern civilization with the earlier pre technical one and minimized if not ignored this distinction between the East and the West However this again is not quite a shift in position in fact he was also speaking to the West And he was only referring to the defects of the tendencies of the Western civilization and not to its inherent nature as Mahadev Desai pointed out in his preface to the 1938 edition of *Hind Swaraj*

It is not generally realized wherein the difference lies Our geography is different our history is different our ways of life are different Our continent though vast is a speck on the globe but it is the most thickly populated barring China Well the economics and the civilization of a country where the pressure of population on land is greatest (the conjunction and should not be made much of) are and must be different from those of a country where the pressure is the least Sparsely populated America may have need of the machinery India may not need it at all When there are millions upon millions of units of idle labour it is no use thinking of labour saving devices The reason of our poverty is the extinction of [cottage] industries and our consequent unemployment

There follow certain figures about the increasing dependence on land as a result of the destruction of cottage industries and the loss of health through the elimination of vitamins in grain after being ground in machines Gandhiji s context was the first exhibition of Village Industries which he was building up as the base of his constructive programme He was an anti machinist with a purpose and the language of his argument was suitable to the masses hearing him

Gandhiji seemed to have been perpetually alive to this problem of unemployment On 22 October 1937 he inaugurated the Educational Conference at Wardha and developed his ideas of education through handi crafts It was a new setting for his constructive programme—an integration of living in love with efficiency and independence without exploitation conflict and poverty and with education of the body and mind In expounding his thesis he said

Then take the question of machinery I think that machinery is not necessary for us at all We should use khadi (home spun cloth) and therefore we do not require mills We should try to produce all the necessary cloth in villages and we need not be the slaves of machines I am afraid by working

with machines we ha e become machines ourselves having lost all sense of art and handwo k If you st ll think that e cannot do ithout macl ines the sch me (of new educat on) I have placed before you will be futile You ish to keep our village alive by means of machines and think of imparting education to the villa e ch ldren through them Machines will only help in making all the th rty fi e crores of people unemployed If you th nk that machines are really ind spensable you must reject the scheme and suggest (Mahatma vol 4 p 38-9)

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th nes and grind g ... villages (a suggestion ... en nes on a large scale in villages (a suggestion made for resolving the food crisis) is also a sign of greed Is it proper to fill one s pockets in this manner at the expense of the poor? Every such machinery puts thousands of hand *chakkis* (gr ndstones for corn) out of work and takes away employm nt from thousands of housewi es and artisans who make these *chakkis* Moreover the process s infect ve and spreads to every village ndustry The decay of the latter spells too the decay of art If it meant the eplacem nt of the old crafts by the new ones one might not have much to say against it But th s is n t what is happen ng In the thousands of v llages where po ver machinery exists one misses the s eet mus c in the early morn ng f the gr nd rs at wo k But to come to the main po nt Wh lst I hold that thes power engines are at p esent being put to wrong use it would be some compensation f these ng nes n add t on to their present use were also used to pump water out of the r vers t nks and wells for irrigation (*Mahatma* 1 7 p 71 2)

nd et succint account of the place

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what is m e knows that i o ... ha e with equal labour a soc ety ba ed on the l ving fo ce of truth and non violence soc ety not like a pyramid but l ke an ocean c circle [1]

On 31 July 1946 G ndh j address d a conf rence of Min sters of Industries of d ffe nt st tes in Poon There he clar fied his conc pt on of v llage nd str es and r ferred to th mbalance betw een to vn and village econom es nd the n d for establish ng justice n the r el tion In that connexion he cam to a fa ly l borate explanation of what he m ant by machines Sir

1 m be ed wi h th retort th his is all Utopia nd therefore no worth sin thou h If E clid' ... rawn ... b man ncy h mperish bl ... m pi ure has its

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D G Tendulkar the author of *Mahatma* gives the following summary

Ours has been described as the machine age remarked Gandhi because the machine dominates our economy What is a machine? One may ask In a sense man is the most wonderful machine in creation It can neither be duplicated nor copied He had however used the word not in its wider sense but in the sense of an appliance that tended to displace the human or animal labour instead of supplementing it or merely to increase its efficiency That was the first differential characteristic of the machine The second characteristic was that there was no limit to its growth or evolution That could not be said of the human labour There was a limit beyond which its capacity or mechanical efficiency could not go Out of this circumstance arose the third characteristic of the machine It seemed to be possessed of a will or genius of its own Machine was antagonistic to man s labour Thus it tended more to displace man one machine doing the work of a hundred if not a thousand who went to swell the army of unemployed and underemployed not because that was desirable but because that was its law In America it had perhaps reached the extreme limit He had been opposed to it not from today but even before 1909 when he was in South Africa surrounded by machines Their onward march had not only impressed him but had repelled him

It then dawned upon me that to suppress and exploit the millions the machine was the device par excellence it had no place in man s economy if as social units all men were to be equal It is my belief that machine has not added to man s stature and it will not serve the world but disrupt it unless it is put in its proper place Then I read Ruskin s *Unto This Last* I saw clearly that if mankind was to progress and to realize the idea of equality and brotherhood it must act on the principle of *Unto This Last*

In the machine age this principle had no place Under it the fittest alone survived to the exclusion and at the cost of the weak But that is not my picture of independence in which there is room even for the weakest observed Gandhiji That requires that we must realize all available human labour before we entertain the idea of employing mechanical power (*Mahatma* vol 17 p 214 15)

We have traced the development of Gandhiji s ideas on machines and on machine civilization and found that despite many concessions to the proper use of machines his values were definitely opposed to those which make for technological civilization and are made by it By proper he meant positively that which was prompted by love and good for humanity and negatively what did not lead to concentration of wealth in a few hands and inequality to centralization of power to urbanization to unemployment to political enconomic and social exploitation These evils which in his view were the characteristics of the modern society with its American apogee were the consequences of the large scale use of machines and they had to be fought with vigour To that extent he was placing Indian (Eastern) against Wes ern (Euro American modern) values It was certa nl

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suzerainty His minimal

o establish co-existence of different social systems on the basis of equality s re th of political though the prophetic strain that came to him in the course of his experiments with Truth led him to think that the

values he propagated would also be good for the Western world We will le ve it to the Western sociologist to ponder over this issue An Ind an sociolo ist can only *mention* that Gandhiji s protagonism of Indian values was not a manifestat on of the romant c agony of nationalist h storians nor n t reactionary obscurantist throw back It is submitted here that he
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At this stage it will be relevant to note the revolutionary elemei us us views Their importance arises from the problem before us that we here must cons der the conditions under huch technolo ical change can take place without caus ng the various tens ons and frustrations which bring about aggress on violence and war which lead to mental unhealth

In ther words we must ask ourselves whether technology cannot but ge erat these evils whether technology should always depend upon wants and the r increase and br ng about a state of culture in which mater al wants are king The inner s gnificance of Gandhiji s concess ons to the use of machines
meal meaning of the term proper use is that they do

introduc d nto India without upsetti g the u
co dit ons are n n possession aparigraha the oceanic constitution o
n terms of self sufficient villages with their group-

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saty graha Of these *aparigraha* non possess on or wantlessness and *srama* or labou alone ar selected fo d scussion (Gandh j would have emphasized Tr h) N w non possess on in the context of hum n history has been an
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uld
wn and not possess f greed or profit to it is exte t the as a o —or ven a Communi t as he called himself before Mr Louis F scher (*Mahatma* vol 7 p 190) but with this differe ce that his Socialism d d not grow out of ndustrial civilizat on technological values class-conflict or accord ng t the operat ons of the laws of dialect cs (That it could only be social expres on of Truth non viol nce and faith n God is important but not

measu e sanct oned by Indian trad tions 1

A second revolutionary elem nt in Gandhiji s prescript on is the concept of *srama* o manual wo k. So far as this writer knows *srama* or the value of the dignity of labour was not quite an Indian value In a hierarchical society

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[illegible] *[illegible]nis Last* [illegible] this principle had no place Und[illegible]ttest alone survived to the exclusion [illegible] is not my [illegible] observed [illegible] available human labour [illegible] idea of employing mechanical power (*Mahatma* vol 17 p 214 15)

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Gandh j s views have to be carefully studied before any scheme of techn cal assistance and large scale technological developm nt is initiated While it is very true that among certain strata and sect ons of the Indian people these views appear strange service is paid to them and th
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that the publ c dent ty of the job anna ish n h ia would
and d sc pline v uld squeeze the la
instrument of social pov er v ould teach docility o ness and that a new
of o kers all the time keeping greed profit and more profit in the l k
ground beyond the s ht of those who are to be — break the intransigence
high r wa es better o d
Theory nd Social Stru

In other v o ds the
demand fo techn log
the I dian masses a
a e being acted upon by technology and they are showing healthy normal) taken in by the technological values They is supply Fortunately
act s to the nject on by absenteeism inattentiveness a sort of lackadaisical
ds v ork in the facto ies unpunctual ty the so-called absence
k and v o kmanship but unfortunately quite often in accidents
F r kes wh ch are bemoaned as symptoms of industrial
the search of the soil bound peasantry of India for
ol day away from the scene of work the din of
villages where the pattern which they know
rules even today
s help questioning the manne and the
gical advance of those who want
least categorically state with Gandh j
the shape of certain types of mach nes
rt and that if la ge scale use of
l and managed by the State a nev
he cannot share Gandh j s hope of
ew In short the whole problem of
t it be repeat d s undeveloped only
ref e in the sense of being more
has to be stud ed f om the po nts
e introduced and of the types of
l to th mot vat ons of ntroduc
omist c so that no funct onal
processes which are those of
many industr es In India
it is only very fev criteria
thout regard to previous
oups are available In
t onal and unpersonal
of production through

types of work are defined and relegated to different strata on the two assumptions that spiritual work that is pure contemplation is the highest type that each stratum or caste which is fixed by birth has its own *svadharma* (bond religion) the practice of which means fulfilment of personality and the departure of which means destruction of self But Gandhiji had a different conception of labour He writes (from *Yeravada Mandir* ch IX)

The law that to live man must work first came home to me upon reading Tolstoy s writing on bread labour But even before that I had begun to pay homage to it after reading Ruskin s *Unto This Last* The divine law that man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands was first stressed by a Russian writer named T M Boudaref Tolstoy advertised it and gave it wider publicity In my view the same principle has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita where we are told that he who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food Sacrifice here can only mean bread labour There is a world wide conflict between capital and labour and the poor envy the rich If all worked for their bread distinctions of rank would be obliterated the rich would still be there but they would deem themselves only trustees of their property and would use it mainly in the public interest The ideal body labour is agriculture but the next best would be spinning weaving carpentry and smithery and the logical common body labour is scavenging

Surely this is not Indian value The dissociation of bodily labour from mental and spiritual labour has had a long history which Gandhiji did not take into account His attitude towards what is known as the caste system cannot be discussed here But on the matter of bread labour bringing about economic equality he was anti caste and therefore a revolutionary—almost a Socialist In other words if the Socialist gave up the usual Western assumption i e no high technology no Socialism and remained content with the use of certain special types of machinery which would not displace labour or exploit human beings for greed or concentrate power then Gandhiji would bless him If further the Socialist accepted this idea of bread labour and built on the revolutionary content of this view the ending of the separation of physical labour—now the only duty of a whole class of people who form the majority—from mental labour which is now the monopol [illegible]

[illegible] the possibility of lowering the impulse and the level of intellectual work by making the intellectual workers work physically for bread without raising the intellectual level and stimulating the impulse of physical workers But Gandhiji would reply that this could be averted

Thus the Gandhian conclusion in regard to machines and technology is logical if one accepts the postulates that India has a separate norm of values—with the hidden assumption that values determine conduct—that she has a separate principle of social organization which would be disturbed and even destroyed by large scale use of machinery for greed and profit and that a proper use would presuppose certain attitudes some traditional and others not but all working in alliance and also a type of State that would own and control large machineries if they were indispensable for defined purposes Otherwise the machineries to be used would be of a special type suitable for removing the drudgery of handicraft and improving its quality if possible They would operate in the general context of de centralized economy in close

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de elopment is initiated While t is very true that among cer
sect ons of the Indian people these vie s appear strange even though lip-service is pa d to them and that such people would want to initiate rapid technological chan e in the name of economic advance evolution and progress it is also clear that an unintell gent injection of technology would so disturb m of human relations that ork would cease to be placed by efficiency entific management
and d scipline ould sque ess and that a new nstrument of soc al power ould teach docility or break the intransigence of wo kers all the time keeping greed prof t and more profit in the back ground beyond the sight of those who are to be immediately benefited by higher wages better conditions of livin elfare measures and the l ke (*Social Th ry and Social Structure* R K. Merton p 318 22)

ell to study the sociology of the iology of its supply Fortunately by the technolo cal al es They
ar being acted upon by tec o gy hey are showing healthy normal react ons to th inject on by absentee sm inattentiveness a sort of lackada sical att tude towa ds o k n the fact ries unpunctuality the so-called absence kmanship but unfortunately quite often in acc dents industrial f India for the din of they know

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m chinery s una oidable let t be owned and managed by the State a new f rm of State Judging from expe ience he cannot share Gandh ji s hope of m tru teeship by th fortun te few In short the whole problem of

pe ficat on n the most common productive processes which are those of agriculture s poss ble No has t oc urred in many ndustries In India p odu t e se tion of soc ety s universalist c th t is only very few criteria pos bly p sent in any segment of the populat n w thout regard to previous soc l elati n hips or m mbersh p n irrelevant groups are ava lable In I d human relat ons are aff ctiv rather than rational and impersonal The normat ve system su table f r th ndust al mode of product on through

large scale use of machines is thus not the normative system of India A matter of additional importance is the fact that this normative system has combined with nationalism anti imperialism and Gandhiji s interpretation of independence to convince some people that it is still valuable So change must take account of these facts in order not to produce the same evils to which the West has been an heir [1]

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA AND IN UGANDA' A CONTRAST

J H BOEKE

Since 1870 Western entrepreneurs have had ample opportunity to invest and exploit their capital in Indonesia The extent to which they have availed themselves of this opportunity—especially after the beginning of the twentieth century—has since then completely determined the economic development of the colony As early as 18 7 the highest authorities in the Netherlands Indian Government had strongly advocated this policy which they described as colonization by capital Their main argument was that the Western enterprises should be a convincing example to the population of the opportunities for profit afforded by market and export crops an example all the more indispensable because without it the Javanese farmer could not be weaned from his traditional rice culture and subsistence economy

His Majesty s Government in the Netherlands recognized the validity of this argument and shared the expectations of its promoters But it considered inopportune any long range policy which would not in the near future provide the profits which the mother country and the king needed urgently For this reason King William I preferred another scheme that had been put before him according to which the native rural population of Java should be compelled to grow by order of the Netherlands Indian Government certain profitable or at least promising export crops such as for instance indigo sugar cane and coffee They were to use either their own fields or waste lands allocated for that purpose and the produce had to be sold for the benefit of the mother country This was the well known culture system which from 1830 on dominated Java in particular For sugar cane cultivation it lasted almost to the end of the nineteenth century and for the other important forced crop coffee even till 1915 although the end came almost unnoticed the system having collapsed decades earlier

Most f th q t tions from Gandhiji wri ings h ve been t ken from D G Tendulkar' mon men l biography *Mahatma* seven vol mes f whi h only are ail bl t th tim f writing h ighth being in pri Th 946 editio f Gandhij *H nd Swa j* has been used her d h 95 edi ion f *S rvodoy II P inciple nd P gr mm* Both are published by th N j Publishing H use Ahmed b d G jerat India A t b graphy *The Story f My E periment with Truth* transl ted from G jrati by M hadev Desai, 939 edition Phoeni Press Lond n, has also been ci ed.

Under the culture system the Javanese peasant was a forced entrepreneur he had to bear the risk and perform all the labour but under such adverse cond tions that he concei ed a thorough dislike for the compulsory crops and could not be induced after the termination of the system to continue of his o vn free will In another respect also the culture system was a bad demoraliz in influence D verted from his subsistence farming the peasant had only one aim to get through his imposed duties with the least trouble and exertion He worked slowly and carelessly he neglected and destroyed rather than cult vated—when he vas given the chance he acquired no new skills merely new vices

This false conception of his labour obligat ons on the part of the farmer subject to forced cultivation nduced the sugar mill owners to extend their activit es from cane crushing to cane rais ng on fields hired from the native owners Consequently the part taken by the village people in the production n shrunk considerably although it still had a serious h leasing out of irrigated land to spare and all of f their main source of whom therefore in so u b as wage labour in the fields as well as in the subsistence Secondly there as wage labour in the fields as well as in the mill—occasional labour mostly irregular unskilled seasonal at best owing h igar industry itself. For both categories h sole ed to above acquir cash to m et their mos all

The Western enterp ises n Java other than the sugar plantations and the estates in the outer provinces were started without connexion with the culture system and most of them not befo e the present century Their beginning of the proposals of 1827 For this reason the prediction dispensable ay be ques- mative for u u e reasons h ch ar different in Java and the outer p ov ces

In Java the density of the rural population so reduces the field area per f rme that the more extensi e methods of cult vation become impract cable hereas when intens e methods are used the increase of production costs jeopardi es the profitability of the market crop The value of the Western example is ecogniz d by the small native landowners but they find themselves ncapable of following t Moreover an imitation covering hardly one thou sandth of the ar a of the example and attempted without capital differs o widely from the example as to become an original experiment These experiments we e made but remained except ons more often born of emer gency th n from th conviction that this change to ma ket crops meant p fit In this way native suga cane cultivation was undertaken on land wh ch the dec ease of irrigation wat r made useless for the rice crop and the n ti tea gard ns we e originally confined to impoverished land whe e food crops no lon er thrived

Sometimes and this also applies t the outer p ovinces there was another impedim nt to the adopti n of plantation crop cultivation. When a crop required furthe important me hanical man pul tion of the raw material to make t ma ketabl the nati e p oducer owing to l ck of cap tal technique

~ This put white sugar s he could obtain the t case the economic or palm oil produ co operation of a Western manufac u strength of the two parties was so unequal that there was great danger that the interests of the native supplier of raw materials would suffer This explains why the Netherlands Indian Government as a rule forbade the buying up of native cane by Western sugar mills and why it hedged in by all kinds of protective measures the native tea planters who had to sell their wet leaves to a tea factory

Under these circumstances it is all too obvious why export crop cultivation in Java never became important and why in the outer provinces only native rubber and coconut production attained any volume Native rubber moreover had to compete with estate rubber and here another difficulty arose which never fails to appear in similar circumstances The large plantations which are amply capitalized and scientifically managed have a production capacity and a productivity many times that of the native gardens and by direct and close contacts they are able to adapt their product to the continually changing demands of the international markets In all these aspects the native producers lag behind Their strength lies in their low production costs in their extreme parsimony which borders on actual neglect Such production methods do not make for quality in the product This low quality standard may not matter so long as the market is a seller s market and the buyer accepts any offer But as soon as the buyer gains the upper hand he raises his standard and becomes selective Then the native product falls short fetches very low prices or becomes unsaleable

It is typical of agriculture that wherever climate and soil conditions are favourable for a certain crop mass cultivation is to be expected because little capital is needed in the production process This mass character of native export crop production may be an advantage when specific natural requirements of the crop restrict its potential area otherwise it easily leads to over production and a fall in prices jeopardizing all profit Further when child labour is profitable as in cotton picking this mass character may lead to a rapid increase of population neutralizing the advantages of the new crop (Egypt)

One other threat to native cultures especially those of perennial crops must be mentioned in connexion with the general neglect and lack of renewal The greater part of the native plantations date from the first world war This means they have reached an age when the replacement of old trees by young ones becomes a necessity But the large majority of the garden owners can no longer afford to abandon for years a large part or the whole of their accus tomed revenues they prefer to await the exhaustion of their plantation

All these features of native export crop production in Indonesia have resulted in a state of affairs in which the native planters are unable to take over production from the Western estates to oust them or even to compete with them successfully

There seems to be one exception to this rule—native rubber growing in Sumatra and Borneo Here the expansion of native export reduced the part of estate rubber to 28 per cent in 1951 This however was only possible by excessive tapping and an undiscriminating seller s market Now that conditions have changed the native rubber exporters are rapidly losing ground In a single year 1952 the part of estate rubber in the export volume rose from

28 to 40 per cent Many native planters have returned to food crop grow ng and I enture to prophesy that this regression in native rubber gro ving will continue indefinitely and that the Western estates will recapture most of the ... h pol cy of the Indonesian Government and of the trade ... ase what v ll take their place?

The relations betv een tu ... and the rural population have become static incapable of any development The pos tion of nat ve labour on these large plantations is subordinate and must remain so For the masses of th J vanese countryside the importance of the estates was the opportunity they offer d to earn a modest supplementary money income The wages v ere lo v and remained so in spite of the endea ours of the Netherlands Indian Government in the second half of the thirties to induce the employers to raise ... wag scale In general only unskilled and simple labour v as asked ... most cases did not form their ...

the neighbou hood ... wo k rs suppl ed the main part of the labour was also o ... character of many plantations and plants The whole organization of the plantations was based on the circumstance that most of the labour came from cheap oc asional workers in the fields and gardens there was very little mechanization much task work was done by free groups enabling the employer to restrict his dealings to the foreman of the group the indi idual labourers had f eedom to ome and go an elast c wage scale was continually ad pted to changing cond ti ns

In the outer provinces these occasional and irregular labourers were unknown. Here dualism the separation between the capitalist estate or plant and the surrounding pre capitalist s ciety was much greater Here the labourers were recruited from Java or China whereas the autochthonous populat on had only incidental contact with the Western plantation and for the rest benefited by the modernization of their society brought about and paid f by the Westerners and the l vely trade and traffic a ising from the indirect influ nce of Western cap tal on the whole reg on

These two aspects of Indones an society must be cons dered more closely first th f ct that in Western ec nomic developm nt in the capitalist produc tion p ocess the labour of th native population was only important for its mass character not for the value of ndividual performances so that the t e whi h bound th main body of work rs as producers to modern Western b ness was extremely loose tenuous and weak Secondly the native popula ...

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and commercial ability was unable to start his own plant This put white sugar or palm oil production entirely beyond his means unless he could obtain the co-operation of a Western manufacturer But in that case the economic strength of the two parties was so unequal that there was great danger that the interests of the native supplier of raw materials would suffer This explains why the Netherlands Indian Government as a rule forbade the buying up of native cane by Western sugar mills and why it hedged in by all kinds of protective measures the native tea planters who had to sell their wet leaves to a tea factory

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The relat ons between the Western estates and the rural population have become static incapable of any development. The pos tion of native labour on these large plantations is subordinate and must remain so For the masses of ese countryside the importance of the estates was the opportunity ary money income The v ages v ere lea ours of the Netherlands Indian h mplovers to raise was asked form their m n and

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These two aspects of Indonesian soc ety must be ns der d more closely first the fact th t in Western economic developm nt n th apitalist produc tion process the labour of the native population was only important for its mass haracter not for the value of individual pe formances so that the tie wh ch bound the main body of workers as producers to modern Western business was extr mely loose tenuous and w k Secondly the nati e popula ti n had a much larger share in Western dev lopment as consumers through th benefit deri ed from the West rn up rstructu e of society a super tructu e which was due to the f nan al trength and the ind rect economic infl ence of Western bus ness Th benefit had to compensate for the short comings of Western busi es n th di ect remuneration of nat ve manual l bour

In this state of affairs th ve e gn Indonesian Government brought abo t tw fundamental ch nges It has considerably reduced the signif cance f th rural populati n as collaborators in Western p oduction and it has f rthered a great increas in the demands of the labourers as consumers By this policy the ec n mi balanc between the various production factors

has been radically disturbed the life of numerous Western enterprises has been jeopardized and the foundation of the modern superstructure of the entire Indonesian society has been undermined or at least severely weakened

These statements require some further explanation First as to the way the Indonesian Government has encroached upon the value of the population as collaborators as co-producers in Western business As early as 1948 in the revolutionary period of the Indonesian Republic at Jogjakarta a labour law was promulgated proclaiming a 7 hour working day and a 40-hour working week Later on 16 official national holidays were proclaimed

In agriculture where the pace of the labourer cannot be checked or fixed with any degree of precision a 7 hour working day is certainly far too short An official report on small scale agriculture in the Netherlands declares the normal working day to be 10 standard working hours In its annual report for the year 1950 the Amsterdam Trading Company states that after the war 70 per cent of its oil palm plantations have been reopened that the oil production from this area has declined to 40 per cent of pre war output but that to obtain this reduced quantity 150 per cent of the pre war labour force was required This may serve as an illustration of a phenomenon general throughout the business world in Indonesia

As to the present demands of the labourers in their capacity of consumers I have in mind the wage increases for which constant pressure is exerted by the trade unions They have convinced the employers syndicates of the necessity of collective labour contracts which *inter alia* bind them to minimum wages for their labourers to be paid partly in cash partly in kind (rice) This minimum wage is 30 times the pre war minimum wage paid to regular adult male labourers It is supplemented by bonuses premiums and social charges for the most part dictated by the Government

The official exchange rate of the rupiah has declined to one third of the pre war Indonesian guilder but the real value of the rupiah in the interior is so much lower that this 30-fold minimum wage may indeed be considered as no more than a living wage that is a wage providing a living for a family of husband wife and two children completely dependent on the wage earnings of the bread winner Before the war the large majority of wage earners were occasional labourers people who as families still found their main living within the village communities supplemented only by earnings on the estate Now suddenly every one of them male or female has become a regular labourer and in the case of the adult male a bread winner of a family This has caused a revolutionary change in the labour structure of the Western enterprises and completely upset their business calculations

From a social point of view there is a still more serious consequence The employer who has to pay his labourers as regular labourers wants them to behave as such wants them to work six days a week and seven hours a day He therefore is no longer prepared to allow them to come and leave at their convenience or to form free groups of task workers The employer has to contract with each worker individually to register every one of them In this way the Javanese villagers have lost an important for many even the most important source of cash income and the connexion between the Western enterprise and the village household has been broken. The regular estate labourers are proletarians without social standing in the village community Even if they continue to live in the village they take no part in its life they

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None of these are replaced by Indonesian estates or small native gardens To Indonesian society their disappearance is a total loss But the larger t ong r concerns who realize that this course of events cannot go on much longer that Indonesia in the long run cannot do w thout them that the p esent situation is a trans tion period and who can persuade their shareholders to foot the b ll follow another course By every means they try to reduce their unsatisfactory labour force they mechanize For the very reason that befo e the war the abundance of cheap labour checked this policy there

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dualism has penetrated too far into he Western estates were to abandon the unequal struggle nothing could be brought forward t take the r place and economic collapse and serious over populat on would threaten Neither Indonesianization of management staffs nor nationalizat on of the principal concerns can help here Indonesianizat on would not alter the dualistic situati n or even appease the class rancour of the t ad unions Nationaliz tion is a slog n without real meaning in a country lack g native ap t l producing for export and dependent on the vagaries of fore gn e onomic policy

The p oblems implicit in the economic devel pment of Indonesia the ocial impl cations of technical progress in that country cannot be mo e cle ly elucidated than by c mparing them to a contrasting development in nother country For pu poses of comp ison, then a brief review of the course of ec nomic devel pment in th B itish Protector te of Uganda follows [2]

The ntrast is not to be expl ined by the fact that in Uganda a policy of ind ct rule was appl ed th same policy was followed much earlier in Indonesia also Neithe was it of di ect importance that Lord Lugard deemed it necess y to mplify this pol y by furthe ng native industry and attempting to p eserve as far poss bl trad tional village life rather than leaving the dult male population to eek wage l bour in remote Western estates and

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would not alter the dualist c situ the t ade uni ns N tionalization is a slogan without real meaning in a country lacking nati e cap tal producing for expo t and dependent on the vagaries of fore n econom c pol cy

The pr blems impl cit in the economic development of Indonesia the soc l impl cati ns of technical progress in that country cannot be more clea ly elucidated than by compa ng them to a contrasting development in anothe country F r purposes of comparison, then a brief review of the course of economic development in the B itish Protectorate of Uganda follows

Th ntra t is not to be explained by the fact that in Uganda a policy of indir ct rule was applied the same policy was f llo ed much earl er in Indonesia also Neither was it of direct importance that Lo d Lugard deemed it neces ry to ampl fy this policy by furthe ng native industry and attempt n to p eserve as far as possible traditional village life rather than leaving the adult male populat on to seek wage labour n emote Western estates and plants At the outs t it formed no part of th British scheme to apply these p inciples to the Protectorate of Uganda. England needed raw materials f r ts industries and it was fo the B itish colon es to procure them The quickest way w s to f rther expo t p oduction by Western plantati ns Theref e in Ug nda too a poli y vas adopted of p omot ng white ettlement ff ring wid a eas to settlers nd en our ging the population to perform

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labour services on the newly opened estates and earn in this way the money needed to pay taxes The spreading of cotton culture among the native population formed no part of the official programme and was readily left to the Anglican Mission which initiated the project

Therefore in Uganda too the Western estate system would have formed the basis of export crop cultivation but for the accident that the land assigned to the white settlers proved unsuitable for growing cotton and because both the first world war and the world wide depression of the thirties interfered with further experiments with other export crops Thanks to these adversities native cotton growing got its chance to determine the economic future of the Protectorate However it must be said in favour of the British administration that it shifted the helm when it saw that native cotton growing promised to become a success For the estates this change of direction meant new difficulties because from now on the recruitment of workers for the white plantations was no longer backed by the authorities

It is sometimes pointed out as an advantage of economic development by means of small native export cultures that this welfare policy guarantees a wholesome gradualness Economic development if properly guided can be integrated into the structure of African society instead of remaining an external disintegrating force (L Mair *Native Policies* p 13) This statement seems only partly correct I am rather inclined to endorse the theory that development from below also may cause a revolutionary change and that in Africa in any case it has done so The male has replaced the female as principal agriculturalist production for subsistence has been ousted from the first place by production for the market and for profit occupation has become business the family provider has become entrepreneur new money needs have been created with the appearance of import commodities a new type of distributive retail trade has grown up in short the African s whole world has been transformed and with might and main the authorities seek to awaken a new capitalist mentality in a pre capitalist society A revolutionary process of this kind cannot be prevented from having a disintegrating influence on communal traditions

It was undoubtedly a favourable circumstance that the introduction at least of this radical social change was left to a missionary organization Both its means and its standing permitted only a moderate pace at the start of the movement This changed when once it was under way the administration interfered and government machinery was switched on In accordance with the system of indirect rule the tribal chiefs had to serve as intermediaries and the first thing the authorities tried was to awaken the emulation of the chiefs look at the Eastern P[illegible]
otherwise the foremo[illegible]
albeit in an Eastern se[illegible]
to addressing exhortations and recommendations to the chiefs but they were fully aware that for the chiefs every recommendation was an injunction—an injunction followed all the more readily since the chiefs being also landlords found it to their interest to have their farmers try the new culture[1]

In the same style the chief secretary (by wire) put it up to the people of the Western Province Natives to be informed that three courses are open

As [illegible] rul these farmers w[illegible] crop- harers [illegible] har [illegible] f th co[illegible] crop also had t[illegible] be d livered t[illegible] th[illegible] landl rd. I[illegible] this way th[illegible] co to[illegible] l[illegible] re formed [illegible] ki d [illegible] f forced cul[illegible] re in mini t re

cotton labou fo government labour fo planters but no attempt is to be made to induce them to choose any one in preference to the others Only one thing to be made clear that they cannot be permitted to do be of no us to themselves or to the 1925 p 14) that the f d to stay at h

It is a strang tate for the colonial welfare policy to have the Government eu the producer assume the role of revolution maker Or is it not a revolutionary act to supplant by a single rule the pre-capitalist ideal of life repose above all (to do nothing) by the capitalist law of life time is money and work is man s vocation?

Once the p ofits of the new crop became tangible to the producers further encou agement was unnecessary The sale of his produce enables [the native cultivato] to buy imported goods and stimulates the desire for individual gain Once this has been liberated from the control of custom he needs little furthe inducement to concentrate on export crops and wants more money so as to clear or buy land and hi e labour (J S Furnivall *Colonial Policy and P tice* p 293)

The two world wars and their aftermath were favourable to native cotton cultivation in Uganda and it spread rapidly They demonstrated England s dependence on Empi e cotton and forced up prices In 1950 a population of less than 5 million earned an income of more than £30 million f om cotton export that is f om a c op introduced less than fifty years before in the pioneer cotton ar a in the Eastern Provinces The area which in 1910 hardly covered 6 000 hecta es in that part of Uganda by 1938 had already increased to 250 000 hecta es In Buganda the gro vth of cotton culture was still more triking it had started later but within a generat on it was in the lead

The rapidity of this penet ation of money economy into a pre-capitalist society intensifies the revolutionary character of the change This revolu tionary change necess tated a rad cal government policy which could however as soon as the first wo ld war was over assume the paternalistic character typical of welfare policies in most colonial countries In 1922 a valorization pol cy was appl ed about the same time plough culture was introduced with cattle as the tracti e pow er during the years of depress on and overproduction of c tton other export crops (coffee tobacco etc) were produced in addition to cotton a licence ystem was established fo buyers and payment in money adopted prices were controlled and regulations passed to protect quality Fo th c tton culture especially these government measures were further supplem nt d by cost f ee supply of cotton seed interdiction of certain specifi d methods of sowing harvesting and ginning nterdiction of a second planting on the sam field in the same year interdiction to stock seeds or plants p escription to apply otation with food crops authorization to the governo to p ohibit cotton cultivation in spe ified tracts and to destroy the whole crop without compensation in case of pests

In the wa years of the forties this paternal interference by the Government nc eased still further A government monopoly was set up for the buying up of the two main native expo t c ops cotton and coffee and this government ag ncy also acted as single elle to fo e gn countries A fixed minimum pri e was gua ant ed to the producers The surpluses received by the selling agenc es were paid into two price stabilization funds which in a few years ould put e ral m ll on pounds at the disposal of the authorities

As described above part of the revolutionary government policy was to instil an entirely new conception of labour But so to remould the African mind is easier said than done Thus far the average man only sees the new market crop as a source of money income which does not require too much exertion and enables him to make purchases beyond his daily needs He does not yet feel dependent on these new crops nor does he love their culture as such If ever the economic situation permits him to acquire the same extra revenue with less labour he would prefer the same income with less exertion to a higher income at the cost of his sweat Exertion as such has no merit labour remains a necessary evil the less necessary the more evil No one believes work to be the purpose of life no one has pledged his heart to the cultivation of cotton

Under these circumstances the task the Government has set itself is to change a people of consumers into a people of producers into a society which will give its whole attention to performing its part in the production process and to the productivity of its labour instead of to the question of how to enjoy life to the full to educate the people to see labour as man s vocation on earth and repose as a preparation for fresh exertions It may be that this alteration in the conception of life is ultimately unavoidable since without it there remains the danger of irregular production of insufficient care of the crop decline in quality exhausting cultivation of adulteration etc

Up to the present the Government has succeeded in conjuring the serious symptoms of this threat by its paternal economic policy which in all probability is not justified and already led to disturbances in 1949 Apparently the Government is going on the theory that when a certain wholesome tradition or custom can be developed these are a sufficient substitute for rational insight and love for the crop in the individual producer

Nevertheless the consequences of the capitalist change of mentality are bound to appear Thus the increasing influence of self interest on social and economic activities is one of the first expressions of growing individualism. A common complaint among the black people is that hospitality has dis appeared and instead the travelling man has to pay for food and shelter even with his relatives (R C Thurnwald *Black and White in East Africa* p 133) Mutual help in the village community is also disappearing The easy earning of money has become a sport and a game Even the children became conscious of the charm of making money boys and girls in Buganda have laid out their own small cotton fields and convert the produce into money for their own use

A more important consequence of the social trend towards capitalism has been the appearance of the kulak the rural exploiter As has been said the new capitalist mentality is by no means a universal phenomenon Only a few become imbued with it and are thus able to dominate their weaker brethren they increase their landed property they change agriculture into a business undertaking based on capital they enter into crop sharing contracts or farm out their lands they act as moneylenders and buy up the native market crops they are traders rather than peasants and they shirk manual labour They form the capitalist counterpart of the tribal or clan chiefs whose landed property wealth and power are not founded on personal qualities but on status and tradition They are however also gradually usurping the place of the Indians in retail trade It makes an essential difference whether the agriculturalists they exploit are subsistence farmers or growers of cash crops In the latter case they do not disturb a closed pre capitalist household economy

but rather introduce an element of social differentiation into the agrarian community they have therefore a much mo e positive social function and may be conside ed and accepted as pioneers on the road to modern cond tions

The authorities have less reason to take action against the kulak because they have found a powerful and efficient v eapon for the protection of the ordinary farme in the co-operative society It is a promising f co-ope ative movement in Uganda th

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in practi c On the other hand the co-operative organization can ar d should also be used on behalf of the ordinary village people for other than strictly economic pu poses in the first place to develop a consciousness of social responsibil ty and the sense of solidarity with a community If this succeeds th co-ope ative society may replace the traditional village or tribal community v hich is doomed

THE RECRUITMENT OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

B F Hoselitz

In th discuss on of the human problems arising in unde developed countries underg ing a p ocess of technological change the question of the formation and training of an industrial labour force stands in the foreground It is indeed a m t important p oblem especially if a process of relatively rapid industrializat on is envisaged and if not merely the acquisition of new manual and technical skills but the entire alteration of the v ay of life of large masses of the population takes place Most of the past discussions of the development of an ndustrial labour force have concent ated on two groups within the new industries the industrial labourers at the bottom of the scale and the technical el te the engineers Some attention has also been given to the problem of how managers concerned with the o ganizational and business problems f th nev industries can be trained and in some und developed countries what teps could be taken to induce the development of a class of private entrepreneurs in industry

The p blems which arise in all these areas a e complex and differ from one another conside ably The transformat on of peasants and primitives into industrial labou ers is a task involving masses of people and which affects not merely the place and manner of their daily activity but their entire social

existence [1] The training of engineers and top managers involves fewer individuals but because of the strategic positions which these obtain in an industrializing economy their selection and their most appropriate employment also involve from the viewpoint of the economy as a whole various difficult problems [2]

With all the attention which has been given to the incentives and motivations which may exist for industrial workers on the one hand and managers entrepreneurs technical leaders and engineers on the other one group has received little attention though in the last resort their successful recruitment and effective co operation is indispensable for a process of industrialization This group is that of the white collar workers In the subsequent paragraphs I propose to suggest a few thoughts on the role which this group may play in a process of industrialization and on some problems which arise

Before entering into a discussion of the problem itself I wish to express two *caveats*

1 The countries which are commonly designated as underdeveloped exhibit great differences in culture relative level of economic advancement political structure and internal social relations Since my remarks will be couched in general terms some of them may be inapplicable to individual countries In fact it would be impossible to present significant propositions on this (as on almost any other) topic if one were to make sure that they were really applicable to *all* underdeveloped countries Some assertions made in this paper must therefore be interpreted as describing tendencies in some countries a real situation in others and to be of subordinate or no importance for certain others

2 For reasons of space some of the situations described will be schematized to a certain extent I readily admit that such a procedure constitutes a simplification of the real situations but I hope that over simplifications can be avoided and that in spite of some schematization the analysis of at least the core problems will not lose its validity

When we speak of white collar workers we deal with a group of people who in terms of economic position and social ranking exhibit great heterogeneity In most of the theoretical treatments white collar workers as a group are counted among the middle class and I will follow this practice by making use of the classification of the middle class presented by Professor F Marbach [3] Marbach distinguishes between the old and the new middle class and further between the self employed and the non self employed members of the middle class Although on the whole there is some overlapping between the old and the self employed on the one hand and the new and the non self employed on the other the two principles of classification yield four easily distinguishable categories In this paper we are concerned only with white collar workers i e with members of the non self-employed sector of the middle class And here we may distinguish two groups again one of which corresponds on the whole with Marbach s old and the other with his new middle class

The new non self employed middle class is made up of white-collar workers who perform relatively unsk lled labour Although th y do not work with

On thi probl m see Wilbert E. Moore *Ind st ial ation nd Labor* N w York, 95

See on som pects f thi poi t my rticl E repr eursh p d Economi Growth *The America Journal of Economic nd Sociology* vol. XII o. (Oc ber 95) esp. p. 88 ff

Frits Marb ch *Theori de Mitt lstande* Bern 9

their hands their real income in the advanced countries is normally not abo e and frequently even below that of semi skilled and skilled manual workers In this group belong the typists bookkeepers shipping clerks filing clerks, and other persons engaged in commercial and industrial establishments and in public service This group will be designated in this paper as *employees*

The old non self support ng m ddle class is made up almost ent rely of public officials *normally* in the higher ranks of the public service To this group should be added persons engaged in occupations of similar complexity n the serv ce of pr vate firms or individuals We will designate *this group* hereinafter as officials

The employees are distinguished from the manual labourers in that they wo k in an off ce rather than a workshop or a factory and that their work requires in general a hi her degree of literacy than most manual jobs A ... well and a bookkeeper must have on the whole ... most manual workers The employees ... h h ... hs usually ... The ... rtain ... and ca eful Moreover as a rule the incomes ... ficials is considerably higher than that of employees as also of skilled manual workers

The most ch racteristic aspect of the economic role of offic als is their intermediary position in a bureaucratic hierarchy [1] This means that they are n rmally in a position in which they rece ve general directives from the persons in elite positions within the r bureaucratic hierarchy and it is their ... their subordinates In addition ... s within a rigorously prescribed ... subordinates and to maintain channels of communication with co-ordinated portions of their bureaucratic hierarchy The most s gnificant difference between officials and the members of the l te is that only the latter make policy decisions and occupy in governmental hi rarchies or in business organizations the posit ons of ultimate *responsibility* As a rule ther is also some d fference in the level of income and general soc al ranking between members of the elite and even the highest placed officials

From th distinctions made it is clear that there exist important differences in the ncentives and motivations of employees on the one hand and officials on the other I shall first br efly consider the former group

The employees are in the advanced countries the proletarianized portion of the middle class Their income often remains below that of manual workers nd this appears to be a correct reflection of the ove all social value of their n mi contribution. The particular jobs which they perform require few specialized skills apart f om those acquired by almo t all children in school Wh tever skills a e needed in addition can usually be learned by a very short training o by some p ocess of on the job training Moreover since many of th jobs performed by employees are on a low level of technical complexity th human factor can be replaced relatively easily by machines In other

[1] I shall not distinguish ... *follows* al ys be wee p blic (governmental, and private, (business bureaucracies. Although shall be concerned mostl with public bureaucracies mos of wha pplies to th m also pplies, *mutat mutand* business urea cracies.

words machines plus high grade engineers can often be substituted for employees—the various types of office equipment from the simple type writer to the most complex Hollerith machine are examples of this Whether or not and under what conditions such substitutions will take place is a question of relative prices But the ease with which such substitution can be accomplished is another factor pressing the incomes of employees to a low level

Compared with this situation in the advanced countries a different situation is likely to persist in many underdeveloped countries at least during the early period of the industrialization process The differences are due mainly to two factors the much greater illiteracy rates in underdeveloped countries and the very low prestige that in many of these societies is attributed to manual work which dirties one s hands (This last factor plays a certain role too in advanced countries) Some employees endure their economically unenviable position because being a white collar worker gives the illusion to the outside world—and sometimes even to oneself—that one is above the ordinary crowd of common labourers This has the consequence as Marbach has shown that employees in advanced countries are recruited on the whole from a higher social layer than manual labourers even though the amount and quality of education required for the two types of position are not very different

In many underdeveloped countries the relative social prestige which attaches to white collar jobs is even greater and that is in close correlation with the relatively greater scarcity of literate persons For this reason white collar jobs which require few or no advanced skills are in great demand often by people who do not even possess these skills—although they only know how to read and write This makes the problem of selection difficult and here another characteristic of many developing countries comes in the partial absence of impersonal market relations and the much greater weight of family and other primary group relationships in these countries

In practice these factors have the following consequence lower rank employee positions become available to persons with a minimum degree of literacy In view of the social prestige of white collar positions as compared with manual labour and because of the relatively greater scarcity of individuals even with a minimum degree of literacy such positions will normally pay higher wages than these of manual workers and most occupations in agriculture Hence with an increase of the rudiments of literacy there will be a race for these jobs and selection for them will depend to a large extent on personal connections and friendships between applicants and persons in the higher echelons of an administrative organization It is no secret that in many underdeveloped countries the staffs of certain government offices are composed of relatives or co villagers and other personal friends of one or several heads of a department or division It is not necessary to point out that this method of recruitment of even the lowest ranks of a public bureaucracy has many undesirable aspects It tends to keep out many qualified persons it places professional relationships within the bureaucratic hierarchy on a non rational basis it produces vested almost clannish interests within the public service and it endangers the principle of promotion within the bureaucracy from the ranks since not effective performance but personal friendship is the decisive criterion At the same time this system bears the seeds of producing corrupt administrations since every applicant for a position will find it desirable to become a friend of persons with the power of appointment—if necessary by means of gifts or bribes

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Mo eove the drafting into industry of peasants and other persons without urban background requires the increase of various welfare educational and other administrative agencies wh ch normally only central or local governments can provide All these trends make necessary a large increase of bureaucracy and thus pose a problem in the recruitment of employees as well as officials In view of the pressures which are likely to arise it is most desirable to found effect ve community oriented administrations and the ambiguity in the social and economic posit on of lower rank employees may operate against this objecti e

An alt rnative would be the attempt to substitute wherever possible machines fo employees But this would lead to the contradictory result that in countries in which labou s cheap labour saving machinery would be employed in occupations where a number of new career opportunities could be created which in the long run would have an important benef cial effect on the economic growth potential of the country It would have the other unfavorable result that the sca ce foreign exchange would have to be used for the purchase of expensive equipment and that the middle and upper ranks of th bu eaucracy would be even more heavily overburdened with work and esponsibility And these persons who are in crucial pos tions are already in short supply Whatever dangers and nadequacies may l e in the recruitment of mpl yees the ch f bottleneck in the build ng up of administrat ve bu eau crac es in unde developed countries is in fact in the lack of t ained officials

Many of the p oblems wh ch we observe in the recru tment of employees are also encounte ed in the build ng up of a staff of officials and ... Some of the po nts which will be discussed below apply also to the expansion of the lower ranks f an administrative organization The constitution of a bureaucracy s fraught on all levels with analogous problems But the impo tant diffe en e between inducting employees and officials is that because of the diffe ences in the nature of their respective roles diffe ent factors are of chief mportan n the case of each of th two groups

As has b en pointed out the peculia ity of the role of officials consists n that they make decis ons They cannot the efore be eplaced by machines But n a well functioning bu aucracy their decis ons are not arbitrary howev ind pend ntly they may be mad I do not refer to the fact that the decis ons made by any official are limited by the competence of his department d vis n, or s ct on but rather that howev f ee he may be and may need t be in some respects he is me ly an instrument implementing policies which w e n t designed by him but imposed upon him To f ll the position of an official p ope ly it is therefore necessary that the holde of such an ff ce be ready to place himself fully at the service of the bureaucratic hierarchy he serves and that he ask himself at every junctu e whether his activity is in

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administrative apparatuses of most underdeveloped countries were until recently either manned n their h gher posit ons by non nati es or experienced periodic breakdo ns [1] In other ords the admin strations of native governments or enterprises in many countries of say Latin America or the Middle East, exhibited a degree of ineff ciency and instab l ty which as one of the f ccountable for the relative economic backwardness of these countries m-owned enterprises in underdeve of

former colonies and the i ic eas under the supervis on of the national governm t underdeveloped countr es under the supervis on of the national govern the growth and extension of native bureaucracies is necessary These must take over the functions exercised until recently by non natives In other instances they must modernize themsel es and replace their often inefficient and non rational methods of operation by the introduction of the principle of rational action on an impersonal formally egalitarian basis This process of innovation makes great demands on a new type of manpo er and it is not surprising that the recru tment of officials equal to the tasks demanded of them f rms a serious bottleneck in the economic development of underdeveloped countr es

In the subs quent paragraphs I shall try to analyse some of the factors which exert an nfluence on the number and types of persons who become off cials in the bureaucracies of underdeveloped countries This may explain why the shortages exist and how they might be overcome. One important factor is the absen e in most underdeveloped countries of well-ordered admin strative procedures Existing bureaucratic procedures are outdated and often derived from the practice of some more advanced country with entirely different cond tions The previous colonial status of some countries and the fact that others th ugh politically independent, were culturally dependent on an ed the adoption of certain European systems of a little to suit local cond tions rable overhauling These very procedures often make public as well as business bureaucracies in underdeveloped countries topheavy cumbersome and ill adapted to the needs of the country Examples of this can be found in the tax and fiscal administrations of many unde developed countries but they exist also in other fields [2] The most app opriate method to deal with this s tuation is the substitution of existing administrative p ocedures by more suitable ones a task in which the United N tions and ts specialized agencies may provide considerable assistance.

In add tion to the external cumbersomeness of administrative structures which could be relatively easily removed if it we e not for a multitude of

On som reaucracies in an qui y and th middle g s and their differences with th modern ype of

pursuit of the general policy directives under which he functions In addition he is charged with doing his work in the most efficient manner possible Efficiency in this context means something very similar to what economists have in mind when they speak of economizing the attainment of a given goal with a minimum of means

These limitations ideally impose upon an official a perfectly rational method of action There is a close analogy between an ideal typical official and an ideal typical entrepreneur The latter economizes means in order to maximize profit the former in order to maximize the implementation of whatever policy he is charged to execute It is no wonder therefore that really efficient bureaucracies exist only in a social framework in which rationality (in Max Weber s sense) has become a widely generalized principle of social action Weber sums up thus his penetrating discussion of the bureaucracy

Bureaucratic structure is everywhere a late product of development The farther we go back in historical development the more typical become forms of government which lack a bureaucracy and officialdom altogether Bureaucracy has a rational character it is dominated by rules purposiveness means objective impersonality Its origin and growth has had everywhere a revolutionary effect in a special sense an effect which the advance of rationalism usually produces wherever it occurs In this process structural forms of government became annihilated which did not have a rational ch [illegible] his kind of rational action [illegible] generalized principle of [illegible] ociety must he distributed and without which it ca[illegible] the following tas[illegible] social action include at least the following [illegible] on the basis of a person s status on the basis of achievement rather than on the basis of a person s status That is in order to implement his job effectively an official must select those persons and other means which on the basis of known scientific and technological relations are most efficient This demands moreover that the exercise of the functions of an official must be democratic in that he disregards in a formal sense special claims of individuals which are not based on objective criteria of achievement or on clearly established legal claims Moreover this rationality of an official s actions will normally lead to his making use of whatever specialized skills exist in order to achieve an end Hence rational bureaucratic activity tends to support and sometimes even to initiate division of labour and specialization Finally the impersonal quality of the official s purpose requires that he be community oriented i e that he regards his office as a trust which he administers in the interest of the community as a whole rather than as a benefice which leads to his own enrichment or the accumulation of power [2]

Many of these principles of social action are foreign to the value systems dominant in some underdeveloped countries Moreover in some countries the social structure and its maintenance work against the introduction of these principles Hence the development of effective bureaucracies encounters great obstacles Indeed really efficient administrative organizations have been created only in economically advanced countries the governmental and

M W ber *W rtschaft nd Gesellschaft* T bingen, 947 vol. II p. 677-8

A more tensi discussi f these in errel tions can be found in my say 'Social Structure nd Economi Growth *Economia Internazionale* vol. VI o. 3 (A gus 953) See also M rion J Levy J 'Som Sources f th V ln rability f th Stru tures f R lati ly Non Indus rialized Soci ies those f Highly Ind trial i ed Societies in B F Hoselit ed. *Th Pr gres f Underdeveloped A eas* Chicago 952.

administrative apparatuses of most underdeveloped countries were until recently either manned in their higher positions by non natives or experienced r a h akdo ns[1] In other words the administrations of native govern ... of say Latin America or the Middle ... was one of the ... these countries ... s in underdeve ... ns by citizens of loped countries were mainl u ... the metropol tan country who transplanted their own organizational and administrative procedures W th the attainment of independence by many former colonies and the increasing trend to place foreign investments in all underdeveloped countries under the supervision of the national government the growth and extension of native bureaucrac es is necessary These must t k over the functions exercised until recently by non natives In other ... and replace their often inefficient ... of ... them forms a serious bottle e k ... loped countries

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some f th ureaucracies in an qui y and middl ges and th ir diff rence with th *mod rn* ype of governmental and business bureaucr cies, see ber p p 3 ff. One f the ou tanding xamples f ureaucracy country hi h did belo to the group f economically d anced areas wa imperial China. hate er m be said bou th merits the Chinese imperial burea cracy one of its main fea ures was ts insta ili hich mad i incapable f fun tioni g in period f social and econom transition imposing ... h oderni on of China

vested interests of office holders or other beneficiaries of the system there are factors in the social structure of some countries which make the formation of rationally operating bureaucracies difficult I refer to the excessive inequalities in social position and resulting from it the quasi feudal character of some underdeveloped societies At the top of the social pyramid is a small group which has a virtual monopoly of wealth political power and education—the three main status conferring variables The officials who are appointed under such a system usually stand in a relation to the political power holders which resembles that of the medieval *ministeriales* to their clerical or secular overlords In other words the officials do not serve the community as a whole but the special interests of a politically powerful group This has the consequence that not only excessive emphasis is placed on the preservation of the *status quo* at least as far as the distribution of political power and social prestige is concerned but it also tends to keep out of the administration persons who have undoubted objective qualifications but who do not stand in a quasi retainer position to the members of the community s elite Quite apart from the fact that such bureaucracies are in any case unsatisfactory because recruitment is based not on the principle of achievement but on that of personal status a class of discontented intellectuals is created who often turn to various radical movements in order to attain positions in which their capacity for political leadership can find some expression But in the shadow of the division of the world into two great camps the formation of political opposition groups often leads to a repetition of the world conflict between communism and democracy within the underdeveloped country Although the radical groups are sometimes illegal and may exist only underground they are present nevertheless and impose serious difficulties on the smooth economic progress of the country Furthermore this very situation makes the introduction of more rational community oriented bureaucracies even more difficult For as Weber has pointed out this process of rationalization is revolutionary in a certain sense It has the tendency of reshaping social relations and introducing a principle of formal egalitarianism which the political elite may regard as dangerous to its interests and whose introduction it will therefore attempt to resist In such countries—and some of the Middle Eastern and Latin American nations belong to this group—the introduction of modern bureaucracies may encounter great difficulties This will at the same time affect the speed and ease with which an overall process of economic development can be accomplished

Fortunately the majority of the larger and more important underdeveloped countries do not have quite such rigid social structures Some rigidities exist there also and they impede the extension of rational impersonally operating administrations For example Daniel Thorner recently surveyed the prospects of reshaping the village administrations in India through the establishment of village *panchayats* He found that in most parts of India the *panchayats* have no power whatever and are not likely to obtain it and that in those parts where they are effective they have been built into old established power and social structures reinforcing the caste system where it still exists and a class system based on differential land ownership and wealth where the caste system is weaker Thorner sums up his observations with the remark ... to rebuild village life would require far greater vision authority and popular support than is commanded by the *panchayats* anywhere in India To approach the goal of rural economic development through the agency of the

existing llage *panchayats* vould appear to be an exercise in frustration [1]
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examined in almo t all underdeveloped count es too great an
emphasis on literary histor cal and n rro vly legal training This is also the
case th requirements for positions in the h gher ranks of the bureaucracy
The notion that an offic al is often, even predom nantly not a generalist
but a spec list n a particul r field of knowled e l as not yet fully penetrated
the public dministrations of advanced countries and lags badly behind in
unde developed countries One consequence of this fact is that in advanced
countries as well as n underdeveloped countries private bureaucracies are
often staffed w th better qualified and sometimes better educated men than
public bureaucracies In underde eloped countries where specialized technical
n ofess onal kills are r lat ely scarce the loss of many qualified indivi
ble public service to pri ate enterprises
ho ro

dministrat n

A suffic ntly l rge supply of adequately tra ned persons for i gi e is
n publ c bu eaucrac es will only be forthcoming when ed icat onal facilit es
re ncreas d and improved But here as in so many other instances the
intermed at schools are n the greatest ne d of mp o ement In some under
developed countries there ex st excell nt univers ties and a small number of
ceive a uni ers ty educat on abroad The extension and
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Even th p ovis on f mor adequat educat onal facil ties on the secondary
l v l nd n spe ial techni al fields will hav only l mited results if traditions
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of these values
with n a omev hat diff rent context c officials—and
nterprises—often
occupy posit on similar t those of personal retainers of their superiors
Alth ugh this may be cc ptable in bu iness bur aucrac es in the long run
t def ts the effect e peration of a publ c administration But the replacem nt
f this pers nal ti f service to one supe o by the ntegration of an *official*

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[1] ne Thorner Th if *P ncha* V cle f Ch ng *Econom Development and C lt al Cha g*
I 9 (Octobe) p

into an impersonal hierarchy is a most difficult process requiring a total re adaptation in thinking and values It is clear that in order to achieve such a transformation powerful incentives must be present I can think of only two developments in the societies of underdeveloped countries which may support it One is the elevation of the prestige and power of officials and the other is the persistence of nationalist sentiments Neither of these alternatives appears attractive to a person educated in and adhering to the values of Western society The first tendency seems to increase greatly the danger of creating a managerial class possibly with totalitarian predilections and the second to contribute to a growth of ethnocentrism and rejection of cultural and other influences from abroad which may ultimately endanger the peaceful development of international relations

But the dilemma may appear greater than it really is The growth of managerial tendencies in public administrations may be tempered with an enhanced emphasis on popular democratic processes and nationalism may perform a positive function in destroying primary loyalties to a family tribe or local village group and replacing them by loyalties to the nation as a whole We should not forget that also in Europe nationalism passed through this positive constructive phase and is responsible in part for the consolidation of the great nations of contemporary Europe If the underdeveloped countries can achieve the creation of smoothly functioning bureaucracies without giving way to the excesses of managerialism or nationalism—both of which contain the seeds of political and social totalitarianism—they will have made a contribution to socio-political practice in this matter equivalent to any achievement of the already advanced countries

THE UNSETTLED ATTITUDE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

A Doucy

PROBLEMS OF VALUES

It is now becoming increasingly evident that the main problem which governments have to face in Africa south of the Sahara is that of Negro manpower In the Belgian Congo the colonial authorities anxious to meet the requirements of the present economic development and realizing the extent of the problems it involves are doing their best to find a solution No solution can be satisfactory however unless it is adapted to the mentality of the local population For the Negro mentality is different from ours it results from a combination of historical circumstances affecting successive generations and upon which —as Professor Glansdorff points out—are grafted certain particular tendencies which can in most cases be traced to external sources and are of a psychological character

In the sphere with which we are here concerned the mentality of the

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ditions introduced by the colonial authorities make full ...
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And it cannot I think be confidently asserted that this has been done anywhere in Negro Africa. That is probably why our Western ideas have made ... n the Negro mind As regards the workers needs however ... Those needs are more numerous ... d they are also more numerous ... e remained in their traditional ... s and the order and quantity in which he w nts the ... a Western m nd ... has not been fundamentally transformed so that for ... n much by its ... tered ... view ... rought ... to ... ter has left ts mark on their ...

After studying the question and making certain experiments I have come ... lus on that it would be possible on this basis to foster the develop- ... our conception of wo k This ... n l ke a filigree through the ... es

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AFRICAN WORKER

The Af ican worke t must be emphasized is nearly always a migrant Wilfrid Benson discussing the extent of migrati n in Africa in an article published in *I ternat o al Labou Review* in 1939[2] tates that the whole continent ... f m gration and th t wo kers are sometimes found to have ... nd

W th ... countries here Arab in ence predomin tes.

W Benson Som I tern tional Fea es f African Labour Problem *Internat onal Labour Review* vol. XXXIX no. January 9.

into an impersonal hierarchy is a most difficult process requiring a total re adaptation in thinking and values It is clear that in order to achieve such a transformation powerful incentives must be present I can think of only two developments in the societies of underdeveloped countries which may support it One is the elevation of the prestige and power of officials and the other is the persistence of nationalist sentiments Neither of these alternatives appears attractive to a person educated in and adhering to the values of Western society The first tendency seems to increase greatly the danger of creating a managerial class possibly with totalitarian predilections and the second to contribute to a growth of ethnocentrism and rejection of cultural and other influences from abroad which may ultimately endanger the peaceful development of international relations

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In the sphere with which we are here concerned the mentality of the

an that the authorities—*those in control*—*are not* entitled ... It simply means that ... hieved in the territories ... permanent sociological ... cipate that in connexion ... relation with employment ... nt. to social policy

These circumstances arise for instance ...

1 To obtain the necessary manpower for European industrial and commercial undertakings

2 To avoid disturbing the demographic balance of the tribes and consequently the agricultural economy of the territory (having regard to the preceding paragraph)

3 To protect the workers when necessary in their relations with employers

4 To ensure them against injury and other risks involved in industrial employment.

I shall now attempt to determine the influence exerted by each of the different circumstances which in my opinion affect stability of employment among Africans who work in industry or on plantations in the Belgian Congo ... which this survey is based was obtained partly by ... ology ... Belgian Congo in 1951 and 1953 on behalf ... and the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa.

STABILITY AND PRODUCTIVITY

... Belgian Congo were faced ... ute form than it assumes ... declared that if conditions in the labour market underwent no change ... can workers would number about 1 1 million by 1959 At that time the total number of workers was 755 000 A survey made by the General Government in 1950 revealed that even during its initial period the plan would require from 97 000 to 160 000 additional workers In 1953 the same department stated that there would be no exaggeration in claiming that at that time and in the prevailing circumstances between 1 1 million and 1 2 million African workers were needed These figures are taken from an official memorandum prepared by the Department of Native Affairs and Manpower of the General Government of the Belgian Congo which was discussed by the Léopoldville Provincial Council in 1952

This shows that already before a third of the 10-year period has elapsed the need for workers is in excess of the figure of 1 1 million which the authors of the plan had set as the target to be reached at its conclusion 'The situation is thus extremely serious—I quote from the department's report—for it cannot be denied that at the present stage of development of the peoples of ...

wage-earners would represent nearly 39 per cent of the total number of

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opportunities It is also based on African traditions [1] And the author stresses the fact that these migrations are no merely temporary phenomenon Most of the workers concerned return home after an absence rarely exceeding two years The volume of migration is increased by the comparative brevity of the period away from home and sometimes reaches alarming proportions—as for instance in Nyasaland where economic and social development is impossible because every year 140 000 persons out of a population of slightly more than 400 000 go off to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa

Another characteristic of the African worker is that he is unskilled His principal handicap is his complete ignorance of any technique He cannot do his work efficiently until he has been given some training Technical training increases his self respect and also the respect in which he is held by others and this is very important [2] Lack of training gives rise to many problems which are all the more difficult to solve because in the territory we are now considering the demand for labour is constantly increasing Reading the reports of the missions sent out by the governments of various countries to study the economic situation in certain parts of Africa one soon notes that the chief concern of their authors is the shortage of manpower particularly skilled workers

One mission reporting to the Governments of British East Africa in 1942 pointed out that these territories were confronted by two problems In the first place they had to overcome a general shortage of skilled workers which was not only impeding normal economic activity but constituted a serious threat to the Government s extensive schemes for developing the mines and for the cultivation of ground nuts [3]

In the second place they had to ensure that children on leaving school would regularly enter industry or commerce The report went on to say that the school system should normally provide a general education to be followed by apprenticeship or by some other form of vocational training organized within the industry or trade concerned adding that in all the territories under consideration there was a shortage of highly skilled reliable workers capable of working without close and constant supervision

Similar considerations are put forward in the reports issued in 1947 and 1948 respectively by the Government of Nyasaland[4] and the Government of Northern Rhodesia

This lack of trained and qualified Negro workers in Africa south of the Sahara is due to a complex series of sociological factors for which the authorities are obliged to make allowance and which render the problems relating to the employm nt of In [illegible]

cor [illegible]

Hi [illegible] it is not surprising if he disappoints us by failing to understand the principles of our industrial civilization

W B son p t p 34

This does not mean that the authorities—those in control—are not entitled — of Af ca on European lines It simply means that he territories sociological in connexion rent relation with employment, circumsta to social policy but which governments will have to take in o account

These circumstances arise for instance when the attempt is made

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I shall no attempt to determine the influence exerted by each of the different circumstances wh ch in my opinion affect stabil ty of employment among Africans who work in industry or on plantations in the Belgian Congo

The nformat on on which this survey is based was obtained partly by Mr P erre Feldheim, Director of Research at the Solvay Institute of Sociology and partly by myself during two study trips which I made to the Belgian Congo in 1951 and 1953 on behalf of the University of Brussels and the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa

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able bodied men in the population The entire population would suffer from such a disturbance of the economic balance in this vast territory where industry in the widest sense of the word is still confined to a few isolated areas Other solutions must therefore be sought I myself have a preference for those which are based on the assumption that any policy aimed at increasing productivity will have results of the first importance in the underdeveloped areas

As soon as one begins to examine the problem of the output of Negro workers in Africa one is reminded that the dominating feature of the market is its instability As I have indicated earlier the Belgian colonial authorities realizing the fundamental importance of this phenomenon have expressed their determination to introduce more stable conditions as one of the goals of the ten year plan[1] Since the absorption capacity of the home market depends chiefly on the level and stability of Negro incomes the temptation is to try to prevent fluctuations in the labour market by raising wages The question is whether this is a practical policy and if so how it can best be applied

Before attempting to answer this question however we should investigate the causes of the instability of the labour mark[illegible]

[illegible] the labour market must first be stabilized Only then will it become possible to contemplate a gradual general reduction in production costs accompanied by a considerable [illegible]

[illegible] Negro labour market in the Belgian Congo

ABSENTEEISM

The problem of fluctuations in the labour market might be summed up in the word absenteeism were it not that allowance must also be made for the sometimes decisive influence of the employers behaviour and of varying circumstances I mention this last point only by way of reminder

Absenteeism which is endemic among Negro workers in some parts of the Belgian Congo is the most frequent cause of fluctuations in the labour market. In industry it is among manual labourers that it occurs most frequently In the plantations it is most often found among workers employed on weeding fruit picking and general maintenance I shall return later to this point

Without claiming to give a complete list of the causes of absenteeism I will indicate those which have come to my personal knowledge

The Influence of Tradition

The influence of tradition is still very strong in the Belgian Congo and makes demands upon the workers to which even those who seem most Europeanized usually submit

It cannot however be denied that many Negroes go to work in European undertakings simply because they are anxious to escape from the burden of

[1] *Plan Décennal du Congo Belge* vol. I p. 7

then be reduced it continues

accept the dowry
hus falls back into

Some people may be temp e downies are often very high they must represent a very useful means of encouraging the Negro to work. There is some truth in this But the fact remains that the man is positively plundered by his wife s family and if he belongs to a matrilinear community re that its regulations will prevent him from taking his wife will refuse to accept a fixed him to give up his job and go home to his colonies being aware of the prominent part played by the Negro wives usually provide a number of facilities to enable their employees to pay downies and get married Some companies have gone so fa as to adopt a policy of family stabilization which has often given excellent results (the Union Minière du Haut Katanga has been particularly successful in this respect) I have also come across many instances proving that the Negro woman—a habitual cause of absenteeism nd therefore of instability—could also have a valuable stabilizing influence

Another effect of trad tion on the workers is their casual attitude towards molovment. A man who lea es his job or is dismissed knows that he lly as there is no group is entitled thus be off hand e This tug of war between the cl n and the colo u coming more and more strenuous

In the large towns such as Léopoldville and Elizabethville there are signs that economic pressure is becoming stronger than home influences. This was appa ent, for instance to vards the end of 1953 when the danger of unemployment which aros in certain branches of activity seemed to have brou ht about an appreciabl change in the attitude of workers towards their jobs But in working for a European concern, the Negro is still embarking upon an unnatural kind of lif and giving up such work still means for him a turn to a natural life Thus as he can find a livel hood in his village he is very seldom placed in the position of a w k shy labourer in Europe

The Type f W rk

Another p ominent cause of absenteeism is to be found in the type of work. To begin with it should be mentioned that wo kers settle down better in industrial undertakings than on the plantations—probably because in the factories they feel they have drawn closer to the European employees that they have surmounted yet another of the barriers separating them from the

Whites whereas on the plantations they feel—as they told me quite frankly —that they are doing nigger work The proportion of absenteeism varies however from one factory or plantation to another and other things being equal the work itself appears to be the deciding factor

It has now become a truism to say that in factories the extent to which a worker settles down depends on his degree of skill In factories too night work is particularly unpon l nd h - i night shift On the planta the plants in straight rov two reasons for this in th u work has always been left to women and on the plantations employers have always given it to the weakest and least skilled men—thus bringing the work itself into disrepute a fact of which the men are keenly aware On the other hand the teams employed to cut down trees and clear the ground for the enlargement of the plantations show a most satisfactory enthusiasm for their work although it is much the hardest, most dangerous and most exhausting of all types of agricultural labour This popularity is due to the fact that work of this kind has always been done by men moreover many Europeans regard forest clearance as one of their finest tasks and this certainly affects their attitude towards the workers they employ It is equally certain that it creates a desirable psychological atmosphere for the work

There is another factor which should perhaps not be underestimated Like most plantation work forest clearance is made up of clearly defined tasks The African is always anxious to know exactly how much work is expected of him in a particular job and how long it is to take and this cannot always be predicted in other types of agricultural work

Proximity of Negro Villages

This is a factor which usually has an unfavourable effect upon workers employed on the plantations In the equatorial province for instance absenteeism is encouraged for various reasons by the proximity of the villages from which the employees come

The first reason is that their wives often leave the camp and return to the village—because they are summoned back because they are cultivating a plot of land there or because they have some other reason for staying at home In such cases the worker often leaves his job—either because he wants to see how his wife s crop is coming along or because he feels he ought to keep an eye on her personally! In the Mayumbe district (province of Léopoldville) the proximity of the Negro villages produces this effect chiefly towards the middle of the dry season when the workers go home to repair their huts before the rains begin On several plantations in the Eastern Province (Stanleyville) the workers go off as soon as they are paid to hand over their money to their families at home

Several agricultural concerns have realized the extreme importance of this question of proximity and have tried usually with success to reconstruct the entire Negro village on their own concession In thus replacing the camp which workers rarely like by the village they get rid of one cause of absenteeism.

The problem is more serious in the palm plantations than in the rubber plantations for workers who go away for any of the above reasons can usually

be sure of making up the wages they forfeit by their absence When they get back to th villa e they need only cut the fruits from the palm trees and ... chas ng station Even f this belongs to the concern ta ... their produce by ... type of absenteeism which employers find most u ... t temporary absenteeism which disorganizes the ork to an even greater extent than desertion or lon absence And geographical considerat ons combined with the effect of the regulations governing the recruitment of labour usually lead employers to hire their workers locally

Proximity of Large Towns

Here the problem is one of abandonment of jobs and general instability of the labour market rather than of absenteeism properly so called Under t k ... (especially plantations) situated in the neighbourhood of European ... to such towns, find that their ... ndency to move to such places ... they do this but merely point out that the attraction exists

Other Caus s of Absente ism

Under this he ding I have listed a number of causes which came to my notice but which are less far reaching in thei effect than those already mentioned

Gambling In about ten of the plantations I visited gambling was a positive ... especially ... k altogether ... actising the games concerned then fl ece the wo kers and live very largely at their expense[1]

Fo d S pplies In some districts despite the efforts made by the employers nd the measures int oduced by the authorities food supplies are unsatis-f tory If the workers are given, in kind, the legal rations which form part of their pay the situation is considerably improved But for some years they ha e been d manding m ney instead of rat ons and in most cases the authorities nd th employers ha e been obliged to give way If local food supplies are carce the m n go hunting and fishing to obtain extras which they greatly ppreciate The employer very often does much to help them but the urge to improve their diet frequ ntly results nevertheless in their dropping th ir work for two or three days to go hunting in the bush This cause of absent eism is too impo tant t be ignored

P licy Reg d g B aches f C ntract At present penalties a e ncurred by Negroes who comm t a brea h of their w k contract[1]

Three ecrees m king ... w h ble ffen are in force in Belgian Cong and in R and Urundi decree f March ... rela ng to work con ract Art les 6-5 Ch IX dealing with repressive m re ecree of J ary ... relatin inden ures Artic 9 Chapter VIII decree of April 933 rela ng work contra for bo men, Arts es Sectio III. Th decree pul tes t th penal es men d in the decree of March all be pplica le N groes employed on he erw ys.

During the last few years under the influence of the liberal principles advocated by the International Labour Organisation the idea has been gaining ground in Belgium that these penalties should be abolished The colonial authorities have not so far taken any steps to rescind them but the law courts in the Belgian Congo are adopting an increasingly lenient policy in this respect The result is—most unfortunately—that the workers are beginning to consider that their contracts cease to be binding from the moment they feel inclined to stop work This feeling helps to account for the increase of absenteeism in the Belgian Congo—especially as the public prosecutor often refuses to apply the existing regulations anticipating that they will soon be altered

So far I have dealt with absenteeism as a prominent factor in the instability of the labour market in the Belgian Congo illustrating its extent by a number of examples some of which contribute not only to absenteeism but to permanent withdrawal from employment

In addition ~ h s factor which in itself would repay further investigation, there are othe ... flated wages lack of vocational training amon...

INFLATED WAGES

During the post war boom in the building trade particularly in the larger towns of the colony contractors began to offer workmen wages and remunera tion in kind on a scale which attracted them in large numbers thus disorganizing the labour market This also led to an extraordinary waste of manpower for as labour was comparatively cheap these contractors hired their workers *en masse* even if they were completely unskilled This sim policy of inflated wages has been adopted to a varying extent in other bran of activity

LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

This also helps to unsettle the workers So far there has been ... on of vocational training in the Belgian Congo and sc ... ed by Negroes from the ... because of the r

expansion

Many of these men were workers only in name App vocational training courses were organized for them in se But the sociological and psychological factors whose persiste described came into play and were responsible for an of disturbance in the labour market

THE BEHAVIOUR OF WHITE WORKERS

Colonial authorities and private employer as few European overseers as possible bec...

obl ged to pay them. It is generally agreed however that the overseers have a decisive influence on the attitude of the African workers Lack of supervision and inadequate technical guidance result in low output and this in its turn unsettles the workers Matters are often made worse by the employment of insufficiently trained European workers in the lower grades since their behaviour frequently causes the Negroes to give up their jobs

THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN WORKER IN THE GABOON AND THE CONGO

G Balandier

The region of the Gaboon and the Middle Congo where between 1948 and 1951 I carried out a survey and took steps to encourage certain practical reforms is one whose economic and social development presents great difficulties Not that the peoples living in this region are exceptionally backward

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Ba Kongo country in the neighbourhood of Brazzaville (with 12 15 inhab tants per square kilometre) and the Wole Ntem bordering on the

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more modern times which gave rise until qu te recently to a considerable flow of population towards the trading posts and to fierce competition for monopolies Instabil ty still characterizes most communities in the Gaboon Congo region. It has been intensified by colonization which through its need to ecruit labour was espons ble for a rush to the towns which it made n attempt to stem—with the result that in the Middle Congo one out of every fi inhab tants is now living either temporarily or permanently in a town

Ec omi developm nt is retarded by what may be called ind genous obstacles These as lre dy expla ned include— n addition to the serious difficulties so liberally provided by natu e itself in the equatorial zone—under population the impermanent character of the local communities and an

During the last few years under the influence of the liberal principles advocated by the International Labour Organisation the idea has been gaining ground in Belgium that these penalties should be abolished The colonial authorities have not so far taken any steps to rescind them but the law courts in the Belgian Congo are adopting an increasingly lenient policy in this respect The result is—most unfortunately—that the workers are beginning to consider that their contracts cease to be binding from the moment they feel inclined to stop work This feeling helps to account for the increase of absenteeism in the Belgian Congo—especially as the public prosecutor often refuses to apply the existing regulations anticipating that they will soon be altered

So far I have dealt with absenteeism as a prominent factor in the instability of the labour market in the Belgian Congo illustrating its extent by a number of examples some of which contribute not only to absenteeism but to permanent withdrawal from employment

In addition to this factor which in itself would repay further investigation there are others among which I would include *inflated wages* *lack of vocational training among Negro workers* and *the behaviour of white overseers*

INFLATED WAGES

During the post war boom in the building trade particularly in the larger towns of the colony contractors began to offer workmen wages and remuneration in kind on a scale which attracted them in large numbers thus disorganizing the labour market This also led to an extraordinary waste of manpower for as labour was comparatively cheap these contractors hired their workers *en masse* even if they were completely unskilled This same policy of inflated wages has been adopted to a varying extent in other branches of activity

LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

This also helps to unsettle the workers So far there has been no effective organization of vocational training in the Belgian Congo and school trained workers were soon heavily outnumbered by Negroes from the villages who had to be recruited and employed after the war because of the rapid economic expansion

Many of these men were workers only in name Apprenticeship and vocational training courses were organized for them in several enterprises But the sociological and psychological factors whose persistence I have already described came into play and were responsible for an immense amount of disturbance in the labour market

THE BEHAVIOUR OF WHITE WORKERS

Colonial authorities and private employers in the Belgian Congo recruit as few European overseers as possible because of the high salaries they are

obl ged to pay *them* It is generally agreed however that the overseers have a decisi e *influence* on the attitude of the African workers Lack of *supervision* and inadequate technical guidance result in low output and *this in its turn* unsettles the workers Matters are often made worse *by the employment* of insufficiently trained European workers *in the lower* grades since their behaviour frequently causes the Negroes *to* give up their jobs

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The region of the Gaboon and the Middle Congo where between 1948 and 1951 I carried out a survey and took steps to encourage certain practical — d soc l development presents great diffi

the large nat onal groups of West u ca tasks which now confront them. The difficulty is due rather to geographical and historical causes This area has an extremely sparse population (hardly more than a mill on inhab tants) distances are considerable and communications right up to recent years poor while improvements—such as the Congo-Ocean railway—have been very costly The physical hardships and material difficulties *inseparable from life in the* equ *torial zone have also to be reckoned* with There a e only two areas with a comparatively dense populat on—the Ba K ngo country in the ne ghbourhood of Braz aville (with 12 15 in h b t nts per square kilometre) and the Wole Ntem bordering on the Cameroons wher Fang peasants have recently established cocoa plantations (over five inhabitants per square kilometre)

Moreover the peoples occupying this territory suffered heavily in former *times from the* sla *e trade which* reduced the populat on and led to many tribal wars They have also felt the repercuss ons of the trading methods *of more mode n t mes which* gave rise until quite recently to a considerable flow of population towards the trading posts and to fierce competition for mon polies Instability still characterizes most communit es in the Gaboon Congo r gion. It has been intensified by colonization which through its need to recruit labour was respons ble for a rush to the towns which it made no attempt to tem—with the result that in the Middle Congo one out of every five inhab tants is now living either temporarily or permanently in a town

Economic developm nt is reta ded by what may be called indigenous bstacles These as alre dy expla ned include—in add tion to the serious difficulties s l berally provided by natur itself n the equatori l zone—under populati n, the impermanent character of the local commun ties and an

economic system which has been based since remote times at least so far as the male population is concerned more on barter and the acquisition of commodities for bartering than on agriculture But the difficulties inherent in the economic activities of colonists must also be taken into account Until recently barter—conducted through the medium of the Sociétés and of a number of middlemen—was the chief occupation in the region Not until after 1920 was the timber (*okumé*) industry developed on an extensive scale mining did not begin until after 1930 when the first important lines of communication were being opened up (one mining company was formed at an ealier date but it soon lapsed into inactivity) It is in the public works enterprises in the logging and mining camps that the villagers—in large numbers and without passing through a transitional stage—gain their first experience of wage earning These types of work employ a large quantity of labour but provide a minimum of training This has an inevitable effect on the behaviour of the African worker who emerges from such activities Any survey of his problems such as is required before practical action can be taken must be based on an understanding of this situation

In an under populated country where there is a local shortage of manpower (in the neighbourhood of a given industry) coupled with a comparatively high demand there are only three possible methods of supplying requirements—by compulsion (the policy of drafting labour) by calling in help from outside or by introducing technical improvements which has been the tendency for the past ten years Taking our examples from the Gaboon we will now consider how manpower problems have affected village communities by disturbing their demographic structure contributed towards the growth of a proletariat and given rise to a policy of direct or indirect compulsion which has been maintained over a long period

Until the present day when the whole process is being mechanized the timber industry required from 20 000 to 30 000 workers known as hired hands This demand was made upon a country with only 420 000 inhabitants where manpower was needed for other purposes as well A rough estimate based on the age groups generally recruited—men between the ages of 20 and 40—will show that this number of workers represents the total number of males in that age group in a population of 150 000 to 180 000 Over 40 per cent of the population of the Gaboon was thus affected by the demands of the lumber camps this figure gives some idea of the contribution provided by communities outside the area of the industry

The local authorities were quick to realize the demographic and social consequences of this policy which adversely affected the inhabitants of the Gaboon without satisfying the requirements of the contractors The annual report for 1928 states that much remains to be done in order to compensate for the decrease in the native population which has resulted from the large scale recruitment of labour It refers to the grave consequences of this emigration saying that family life is completely disorganized when the grown men leave their villages to work in industries on the coast In addition to all this there were growing up alongside these industries so-called *villages de vagabonds* (shanty towns) the spread of which was contributing to the growth of a very unstable proletariat

Furthermore the voracious demands of the timber industry are directed almost entirely towards unskilled labour the villagers are uprooted without being permanently settled in a new sphere of activity and without receiving

any tra n ng As recently as 1950 accord ng to figures published by the ... of Labour more than 80 per cent of the labour force in the ... d only 13 per cent so-called skilled ... less

A further example ... e ... admin strative area of Ngounia (Gaboon) which is ... power and an industr al zone In 1930 the total number of wage earners employed n the m nes and lumber camps of this area amounted to 23 per cent of the adult male population over 15 years of age while during the previous ten years nearly 18 000 men had left the district to work elsewhere This illustrates the high proport on of wage earners in the region and the ... n terms of male populat on to regions wh ch abide by the traditional ... at ons and incentives can be under ...

available to him in this spi ic ... southern p rt of French Equatorial Africa— hich were confirmed by ... colleague G Sautter the geographer—there is every reason to suppose that jungle enterprises find great d fficulty in keep ng their workers—especially s nce the ntroduction of the new laws of 1946 which by recognizing the princ ple of freedom of employment have d m nished the possibility of recourse to coercion. It sh uld be added that the social welfare measures adopted by certain agricultural and mining undertakings in the Middle Congo have done little t reduce this tendency to drift Once uprooted th peasant makes his way by gradual stages through one industrial job after anothe towards one of the b g urban centres It is to these therefore that a cons derable part of this surv y will be devoted they undoubtedly attract like a magnet. Fo this purpose I shall draw upon the results of my survey of the Black Braz avilles by which I mean the African towns of Poto-Poto Wenzé and B congo bo dering on the wh te town.

Let us conside th situat on f the wage earner in these towns

The two main criticisms suggested by a perusal of the Inspectorate of Labour s eports ar that the l bour ma ket is n a state of continual flux—the c mpar ti e tabil ty eferred to abov characterizes the u ban population but is not efl ct d in urban bus ness enterprises—and that skilled workers re very are The e is ncidentally an nescapable connexion between these two facts

The st t of flux is due to the very nature of sala ed employment in Africa and t the part cular types of economy which exist in this region. The Negro ... of money by the rapid ... nd by the necessity of ... as his financial require m nts a e becoming more and mo e nu nerous n the towns the worker s chief incent ve is the desire to obtain the best paid work available and to this nd th mo e ambitious go to the Belgian Congo to get some type of special ...

A survey carried ou during m vis to the Cong and the G boon, from ... 95

comparative stability in this class of employment Many prefer not to take permanent jobs they hope to get back to their villages for varying periods or to establish themselves in some form of commercial activity which is not only profitable but satisfies their need of freedom This is another cause of mobility originating in the system of barter which was for a long time the dominant feature of the local economy It emphasizes the fundamental weakness of a labour market which is in itself precarious and subject to fluctuation because it is governed by purely external circumstances

The reaction of workers to the reforms introduced since 1945 is significant The report drawn up in 1947 by the General Inspectorate of Labour stresses the following factors insufficient attraction of salaried work because the advantages it offers are regarded as inadequate compared with the effort involved and the profits which accrue refusal to subscribe to long term engagements which are governed by arbitrary contracts Here the report explains that In urban centres the tendency to accept employment only for brief periods developed at a much earlier date It is due to the fact that in such places workers were and still are drawn from a large floating population difficult to supervise and on the whole reluctant to accept regular long term work Employers thus became accustomed to hiring manual labourers on a day to day basis Skilled workers though tending to remain longer in their jobs have always objected to signing long term contracts which offered them no appreciable advantages in exchange for their independence [1] This document calls attention to the role of urban centres as reserves of manpower and the failure of the workers to adapt themselves to town life and steady employment—a failure resulting from the conditions of that employment

Surveys conducted among workers at Brazzaville show that about 50 per cent of them would like to change their jobs—with the exception of the shopkeepers and fishermen who are satisfied with their comparatively high profits This desire springs from the hope of finding employment which will enable them to live better or which will confer a certain prestige or by the wish to have several strings to their bow and thus stand a better chance in periods of depression. During the survey I carried out in co-operation with various technical departments it was found that manual labour was regarded by almost all workers as the worst because it meant hard work for the lowest wage and earned no esteem for the worker This sheds an interesting light on the problem of the influence of local conditions on the choice of employment The most attractive professions are those involving the new techniques introduced by Europeans—civil service and teaching (clerk schoolmaster) health (nurse doctor laboratory assistant) mechanization (chauffeur tractor driver mechanic etc) And these being the fields in which the whites have proved themselves to be superior and in which they predominate are all the more alluring since they seem to be reserved for a privileged minority This fact is mentioned in the official reports Experience has shown that Negroes find a unique attraction in machines—to such an extent that they lose interest in other activities of outstanding importance such as building or carpentry [2] Moreover the first observations made in various parts of Africa go to show that Negro workers are very efficient in dealing with machines [3]

1. Inspecti Gé éral d Travail. *Rapport A uel 947* Ch pter on Labour Laws.
2. Inspection Général d Tra ail. *R pport A uel 949* Ann es.
3. U published report possib'lities f industriali tion in Africa drawn p by th I tern tion l Africa Instit t London.

For a long time it was maintained that progressive Africans were interested only in hite-collar jobs This was true only when office work was the sole alternative to domestic service or manual labour—in which circumstances it was natural that they should prefer it

These inclinat ons are hard to satisfy under the present economic and social system in the course of the survey already mentioned many of those questioned admitted that they had not been able to get other work or learn any other job or go to school An analysis of wage earning in the Middle Congo where the towns of Brazzaville and Pointe Noire provide the majority of the statistics serves to illustrate this point [1] domestic servants 4 5 per cent clerical workers 7 5 per cent technicians and skilled labourers 25 5 per cent unskilled labourers 62 5 per cent.

To these particulars should be added the fact that salaried employees in the management and supervision category make up less than 1 per cent of the total of African work rs and that like many of the clerical workers they are often fore gners

All this points to what is described in official parlance as an excessi e — — h question of vocational training and what attempts have been estion is supplied in part by the information given abo e concer g onom c situation in this part of Central Africa owing to the lack of industrial equipment and the prevalence until recent years of the system of barter such a demand hardly existed until 1945 when the o-called ten year plan was put into operation As for the tra ning of skilled personnel the reports drawn up during the emergency period wh ch followed that date refer with some bitterness to the negl gence shown by many employers during the past few years in training and super vising their wo kmen [2] In connexion w th this remark, it should be remem ber d that technical tra ning whether government-organized or in private — o nl e it on a sound footing hool at Brazza al school of its kind and except f r the app ent cesup cenue … … ,ire—which had 266 pupils in 1950-51—it is the largest In 1950-51 th re were 190 pupils divided among the three sections (industrial technical and commercial) f which the school has consisted since 1946 The future prospects of these pupils vary considerably according to whether they enter government or private mployment F gures issued by the Inspectorate of Labour show that in the former case they rece ve much h gher salaries (7 000 as against 3 000 fr ncs n 1949-50) together with special allowances and have good prospects The contrast s ys the report, g ves rise to grave dissatisfaction, which may esult in avers on for manual wo k This remark is illuminating the existing enterprises have as yet no need for h ghly skilled workers Only the building trade and th publ c wo ks undertakings have a great need of specialists at the m ment to meet the demands of the plan This accounts f the e ght month ntensi e vocational training courses offered by the four industrial sections (masonry and bricklaying reinforced concrete timber

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Inspection Tra ail d Moyen Congo *Rapport A nuel 47*

Inspection Générale d Travail, *R pport A uel 947*

nspection Générale d Tra ail, *Rapport Annuel 949*

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U p blish d report possibilities f industriali tion in Africa drawn p by th I ern tional Africa Instit London.

h v ant in the market to which they have access Thi
A he prices in the market
s kind must hoι ever
ille showed that an
be qua ely higher increase in
app ec able rise n salary may leau to a p r
output One undertaking wh ch hires casual labour has tι o ι ork sites on one of wh ch it p ys the legal wage rate ι hile on the other it offers from o to 25 per cent above the legal rates Output is notably higher in the latter case a d the d fference exceeds 5 per cent No appreciable improvement in output can be expected vithout greater security for the ι orker and present insecurity s due not only to the state of flux in the labour market but also to the low purchasing po er of money and the lack of an adequate ι elfare service

Added to all this it should be observed that the bonds created by team ι ork are still very fragile and are often broken by long standing antagonisms based on ethnical factors This nstab lity is due in great part to the preference for short term employment the recent origin and doubtful duration of many ndertakings, and the h gh proport on of neι citizens in the to ns From the
A h fact that the population shoι s
s—no such groups are being
cept in the case of the railway
hich incidentally has helped
rk as such and has led to a
ent among them—the chief
are ι idely d spersed and exert
l by the trade union moι ement
(suspe t t first as be ng a type i u gamza n introduced by the colonizing power and late d vid d aga nst itself by indiι dualistic tendencies) are s gnificant

It is not enough to cons d r only those d fficulties wh ch arise from the peculiar featu es of the wage system and the modern ed sector of economy n an underdeveloped country Cultural cond t ons must also be taken into account—and anthropologists have been active in investigat ng them Economic p ogress among African Negroes may be ser ously impeded by the pe s tence of c rtain types of behaviour or of methods of organizat on wh ch a not eally ad quate
mal djustment which is due to the
wealth The social structure of this
nence being more regarded than
const tuted autho ty for instance a rich man (*nk ma kuma*) enjoys so much respect that strangers ar apt t take h m fo the local ch ef But wealth here consists hiefly of wives (a local p ove b says Our wι es are our real ι ealth) d of goods locked up n chests h ch may in a sense be cons dered as potential wives s nce they help to make up the dowry A good deal of the t b l nc me undoubtedly comes nto c rculat on in the first place in the form f d wries and these are governed by l cal fluctuations n prices Now that money be ng earn d by an ncreas n number of ndiι iduals competit on f es is ntens fied and the dowry figu e s constantly rising ι h le in luntary b chel rs are becoming mo e and mo numerous Once the system under wh ch wealth and women we e kept in culat on has been thus d sturbed t causes mo e d scontent and t ife than satisf ct on Ho ever it still rema ns as on young Fang write puts t the start ng point and the goal of

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of the present post war period
Further proof that vocational training has been neglected
numerous cases of casual apprenticeship where boys go to some older worker
who may be only semi skilled to receive a smattering of instruction for which
a high payment is often asked This practice exists among carpenters brick
layers cobblers tailors chauffeurs and even typists But it is the chauffeurs
who find it the most profitable because of the attraction exerted by their
work—which entails handling a machine and dealing with travellers and
goods and offers the possibility of taking on many apprentices

In such circumstances it is naturally difficult to assess the workers output or
the quality of their work The Inspectorate of Labour describes the situation
as characterized by lack of diligence great changeability and an average
output which is usually much below that of a European worker in the same
type of employment [1] The report at once goes on to say however that
this cannot be due only to physiological causes It admits that the workers
are insufficiently prepared for their tasks makes a brief reference to the effect
upon them of having left their familiar surroundings which in the majority
of cases is a very recent event and states that the African worker is unfamiliar
with the technical methods and the tools used by his European colleagues and
he is not accustomed by tradition to work to a time table This latter
observation like all statements concerning the output of Negro workers
points to the need for certain specific investigations—an example of which
was provided by Dr Ombredane in the Belgian Congo when he called for
a comparison between incentives in familiar surroundings and surroundings
where white influence predominates His report draws attention to funda
mental points of contrast Contrary to the practice in familiar surroundings
the wage we offer the Negro depends on his output in a job which tends to be
continuous for fixed intervals which is organized imposed upon him and
supervised by others and is often so fragmentary and ant like that its ultimate
value is hardly apparent to those who do it [2]

Dr Ombredane also emphasizes that the African worker remains alien to
the task imposed upon him and to the undertaking which makes use of his
services he is seldom a permanent part of the undertaking for which he
works in most cases he remains an alien and unstable element This absence
of interest accounts for the lack of diligence of which employers complain
and which is even more marked among manual labourers than among skilled
workers At Brazzaville according to a very rough estimate absenteeism
varies from 8 to 12 per cent—a very high percentage

In view of all these unfavourable circumstances some of which must be
attributed to unfamiliar surroundings and the rest to a backward economic
system the question of the incentive provided by wages becomes important
The Inspectorate of Labour s reports indicate that in the great majority of
cases increased output has little effect on wages and that furthermore
workers usually have but slight interest in receiving better pay as they can

I pect Gé éral d T all *R pport A* el 949 *A* exes
Dr A. Ombredan Principes pour ét d psych logiq des Noirs d Congo Belg in *L A* *el* *Psycho*
l gique 5 th year 95

helps to strengthen the bonds of fellowship the importance of which has already been indicated Mr H Labouret emphasizes the fact that urban sedentary workers have (thus) brought with them to the towns those sentiments of f llowship and interdependence wh ch are h ghly developed in most local communities

teresting to note the changes resulting from this transference to to vn h n mollified losing its solemn and

have lost much of the r s gn ...

the establishment of friendly business relat ons between former ... Late they developed into a kind of mutual assistance among planters to raise sums for cap tal expend ture This type of *temo* is widespread in a number of Ba ko go and Ba sound villages and in some cases is not unlike a commer c al partnership Some of the younger Ba kongo men are now cons dering — h *ir temo* into a co-operative society All this

assurances and—still more ...

wo k which insp es confidence and nvolves the partners in commitments which they clearly understand

It is not possible to cons der the problem of economic motivations and — h l ght of its psycholo cal and cultural to be defined to an ever increasing a thorough investigation which can only be undertake ... owled e of the economic conditions esult ng from European nterference and after a precise assessment of the present state of the society to which the African o ker belongs No full descript on of the imped ments and daptat ons which are affecting the economic activity of the Negroes can be provided without a comprehensive survey of that soc ety and the anthropolog cal method is of great value here sin e t deals with the question n all its aspects The need for such an app oach is e dent—in African Negro commun ties everything may be sa d to hinge on eco omics and relig on.

Moreover the need for a comprehensive nvestigat on covering all the subjects concerned is i creased by the fact that indissoluble bonds exist between the trad t onal and modernist' environments each of wh ch reacts on the other This g ves r se to a further problem which cannot be cons dered her how is the trans t on to be made f om this comprehensive study—deal ng with subjects not all equally suscept ble of generalizat on—to the dvancing of any eally significant th ory?

This is indicated b the ppointmen *of two 'leaders* f th temo each of whom collect contrib tions from on of the 'sides' method (hich till com ulsory in some villages) and by the fact tha contrib tions are brought to the marke place, the fficial scene of reconciliations, to be handed over

Fang economy This tips the scales in a way which discourages the economic activity of the young men who are the first to suffer from the situation The resultant lack of … typical of a society where the production of human beings (the size … person controls either directly or by alliance) … property and the amount of controlled wea… ns of

A second type of maladjustment occurs because … authority (a maternal uncle s authority over his nephew the authority of an alder over a younger brother etc) are often exerted in such a way as to bring about the economic exploitation of the dominated person The same applies to traditional rights over women which where they are maintained give scope for blackmailing the husband with perpetual requests for presents Families (in the widest sense of the word) and associates invoke tradition to justify their claim to a considerable proportion of an individual s income Economic activity is of course discouraged rather than stimulated by this commercialization of social relationships

These are only two typical examples of unfavourable factors But it should be remembered that favourable factors exist as well Reference to traditional customs may bring to light methods of organization which can be adapted without great difficulty to the new economic conditions This has been the case with the *Ki temo* evolved by the Ba kongo the practical value of which has been proved by the many services it has rendered I should like therefore to give a somewhat detailed description of this type of economic organization which is known chiefly as a savings association

The *mwan a temo*[1] members of such an association vary in number from the 3 to 4 needed to form a little temo to the 10 to 20 of a big temo they all pay in an equal sum the amount of which and the frequency of the payments (fortnightly or monthly) are fixed in the light of their financial position and their aims Workers earning an average wage usually organize 500-franc or 1 000-franc *lemos* to be paid in at the end of each month while tradesmen and certain government employees manage to make deposits amounting to several thousand francs Strict discipline is maintained fines are imposed for delay a… cannot pay his contribution he must either find someone … essary um … ng a higher … members … tortionate

The c… purchasing power than tha… to save by means of strict discipline and to p… money lenders by a system of mutual assistance But the *mwan a temo* often gets into debt in order to keep up his contributions and has to use his share when he receives it to pay his debts The preliminary condition for the establishment of such an association is that the prospective members all need to build up a capital sum within a relatively short period—to put the finishing touches to a dowry pay for a fence build or repair a hut etc Members must all be of the same tribe (the association is confined to natives of the Ba kongo) and there must be a certain affinity between them so that they trust one another According to tradition the member who receives all the contributions must provide the palm wine which is drunk by the entire company in token of the sacred nature of the pledges given and of the alliance into which they have entered This attempt to adapt tradition to the new economic circumstances

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[1] *Mwa* *temo* child f th t mo.

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wo kers ma e ... ical
f llowsh p and interdependence whic ...

— his transference to town
losing its solemn and
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the links between them
have lost much of their s gi ... nally intended to mark
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POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE ESKIMOS OF THULE

J MALAURIE

Until 1951 the polar Eskimos living in the region of Thule on the north west coast of Greenland between latitudes 76 N and 79 N offered an interesting example of an archaic and comparatively isolated community—a surviving fragment of the past as it were The recent establishment of an American military base in the very heart of this tribe s territory has created a situation the results of which merit investigation more especially as the future of the community is uncertain

I spent over a year among the Thule Eskimos making a survey from a purely geographical point of view and by travelling a great deal in the region collected much interesting information regarding means of subsistence family incomes the psychology of the Eskimo compared with that of the Greenlander and vital statistics But the conclusions to be drawn apply of course only to that particular area Thule is undoubtedly an extreme case in which physical factors are of decisive importance Since the Eskimos live on the outskirts of the inhabited world leading a necessarily precarious existence their scope for adaptation is small and their creative capacity reduced to a minimum I have no intention therefore of suggesting that these conclusions are universally valid they apply only within the Arctic Circle and to a certain part of that region

It has long been realized that a problem arises when a primitive society is introduced to our forms of civilization But the possible solutions of that problem have not always been very clearly described In any case a purely sociological approach to the question of contact and interaction between human communities differing in technological structure would lead us far astray if it were not preceded by a geographical study of the area concerned An economic assessment of the situation and of ways in which it can be exploited has to be drawn up and it may be thought desirable to attempt a geographical or one might say oecological classification in preference to any other Regional divisions are in the first place a matter of topology and a civilization results in the first place from acclimatization in some particular spot Since the real needs of the Thule group are primarily material ones and since their satisfaction is a prior condition of any social or cultural progress this report does not deal with such social religious or political phenomena as might be engendered by planned development Such phenomena must of course be foreseen and if given their rightful place in the general system they might lead to appreciable modification of the arguments here set forth

The small tribe of polar Eskimos (it has only 302 members) in the most northern of all human communities is cut off from southern Greenland by Melville Bay and from Baffin Island and Ellesmere Island by Lancaster Sound Jones Sound and Smith Sound In 1950 it was living in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world

Range of movement is restricted and sustained contact with neighbouring

countries prevented by variations in the condition of the ice due to the warmin of the Arctic waters This primitive civilization has seldom in the course of its history been able to enjoy the stimulating and enriching results of contact with peoples of differing culture These Eskimos come in all probability from the south west (Baffin Island) Recent studies devoted to them—and in particular to their music[1]—suggest that they are of American not of Paleo-Asiatic origin and that at some fa rly remote period they were in touch with the Red Indians In all likelihood these northern nomads were settled on the coast of Smith Sound by the twelfth or at latest th thirteenth century if not before the year 1000 At a very early stage the he route by which all Eskimos migrating d—was cut off opeans) As is to be expected at this lati h with three months of darkness during the winter and only three n on s June July and August) with an average temperature above zero centigrade The population is semi nomadic and has retained its trad tional economic system which was for a long period entirely self sufficient This is based on hunting and is closely linked with local resources—walrus seal fox, an occasional bear narwhal (these last are gradually disappearing) It might thus be supposed that their margin of exist nce is narrow but this is not the case. They follow a system of semi stocking and planned economy and as they are few and th ir needs are small the margin is qu te adequate Though it is difficult to estimate how many people could subsist on the a ailable resources it seems not unreasonable to estimate that if the standard of living remained low and 6 h c ntinued to be strictly regulated the population could be — — w h those on other the incomes—in s an approximate level hich is much higher than in a uthern regions of Upernivik and Umanak, who have a imilar economic system. This is due to certain hydr g aphic and climatic onditions Moreover in such a thinly popul ted area hunting becomes really profitable And thinly populated it c rtainly is—with o 1 inhabitants per kilometre of coastline (1923) as against o 51 per kil m tre fo the whole inhabited part of Greenland and o 89[2] for Julianehaab the largest colony on the west coast

Thanks to all these different factors the colony of Thule is one of the most flourishing of Eskimo communities This prosperity is reflected in its finances During a ingl year (Mar h 1950 to March 1951) the sale of skins and lat d p ducts at the trading posts brought in 75 748 krone[3] unequally d vid d b tween 70 to 75 families Until r cently the efore Thule was one of the few settlements of Eskimo hunt rs in Greenland if not in the whole of th Arcti hose budg t showed a large credit balance

Before entering upon a description of th way of life of the Thule Eskimos t will perhaps be ad isable to give a few dates The tribe was discovered in 1818 by J hn Ross but had no prolonged o formati e elations with the outer

Ch. Leden, 'U ber die Musi der Smi Sund kimos d ihre Verwand schaf mi der M k der Amerik nischen ndianer' *Medd. Om Grønland* nr 3 Copenh gen, 5
K. B rk uith, *Greenland* Copenhag n, 5
On krone = On nglis hillin

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POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE ESKIMOS OF THULE

J Malaurie

Until 1951 the polar Eskimos living in the region of Thule on the north west coast of Greenland between latitudes 76 N and 79 N offered an interesting example of an archaic and comparatively isolated community—a surviving fragment of the past as it were The recent establishment of an American military base in the very heart of this tribe s territory has created a situation the results of which merit investigation more especially as the future of the community is uncertain

I spent over a year among the Thule Eskimos making a survey from a purely geographical point of view and by travelling a great deal in the region collected much interesting information regarding means of subsistence family incomes the psychology of the Eskimo compared with that of the Greenlander and vital statistics But the conclusions to be drawn apply of course only to that particular area Thule is undoubtedly an extreme case in which physical factors are of decisive importance Since the Eskimos live on the outskirts of the inhabited world leading a necessarily precarious existence their scope for adaptation is small and their creative capacity reduced to a minimum I have no intention therefore of suggesting that these conclusions are universally valid they apply only within the Arctic Circle and to a certain part of that region

It has long been realized that a problem arises when a primitive society is introduced to our forms of civilization But the possible solutions of that problem have not always been very clearly described In any case a purely sociological approach to the question of contact and interaction between human communities differing in technological structure would lead us far astray if it were not preceded by a geographical study of the area concerned An economic assessment of the situation and of ways in which it can be exploited has to be drawn up and it may be thought desirable to attempt a geographical or one might say oecological classification in preference to any other Regional divisions are in the first place a matter of topology and a civilization results in the first place from acclimatization in some particular spot Since the real needs of the Thule group are primarily material ones and since their satisfaction is a prior condition of any social or cultural progress this report does not deal with such social religious or political phenomena as might be engendered by planned development Such phenomena must of course be foreseen and if given their rightful place in the general system they might lead to appreciable modification of the arguments here set forth

The small tribe of polar Eskimos (it has only 302 members) in the most northern of all human communities is cut off from southern Greenland by Melville Bay and from Baffin Island and Ellesmere Island by Lancaster Sound Jones Sound and Smith Sound In 1950 it was living in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world

Range of movement is restricted and sustained contact with neighbouring

countries prevented by variations in the condition of the ice due to the
rs This primitive civilization has seldom in the
and enriching results
Eskimos come in all
probability from the south west ... nt studies devoted to them—and in particular to their music[1]—suggest that they are of American not of Paleo-Asiatic origin and that at some fairly remote period they were in touch with the Red Indians In all likelihood these northern nomads were settled on the coast of Smith Sound by the twelfth or at latest the thirteenth century if not before the year 1000 At a very early stage the
the route by which all Eskimos migrating
—was cut off
opeans) As is
h with three
months (June July and
rade The population
is semi nomadic and has ... ic system which was for a long period entirely self sufficient This is based on hunting and is closely linked with local resources—walrus seal fox an occasional bear narwhal (these last are gradually disappearing) It might thus be supposed that their margin of existence is narrow but this is not the case They follow a system of semi stocking and planned economy and as they are few and their n ds are small, the margin is quite adequate Though it is difficult
available resources it seems
l of living remained low and
ated the population could be
h those on other
the incomes—in
s an approximate
level which is much higher than that o ... uthern regions of Upernivik and Umanak, who have a similar economic system. This is due to certain hydrographic and climatic conditions Moreover in such a thinly populated re hunting becomes really profitable And thinly populated it certainly is—with 0 1 inhabitants per kilometre of coastline (1923) as against 0 51 per kilometre for the whole inhabited part of Greenland and 0 89 for Julianehaab the largest colony on the west coast.

Thanks to all these different factors the colony of Thule is one of the most flourishing of Eskimo communities This prosperity is reflected in its finances During single year (March 1950 to March 1951) the sale of skins and related products at the trading posts brought in 75 748 krone[3] unequally divided between 70 to 75 families Until recently therefore Thule was one of the few settlements of Eskimo hunters in Greenland if not in the whole of the Arctic whose budget showed a large credit balance

Before entering upon a description of the way of life of the Thule Eskimos it will perhaps be advisable to give a few dates The tribe was discovered in 18 8 by John Ross but had no prolonged or formative relations with the outer

Ch. Leden, Über d ... k der Smith Sund Eskimos und ihre ... erw nd schaf mi de Mus k der Amerikanischen I ner' 3 add. Om Grønland ar Copenh en, 5
K rk Smith, Greenland Copenhagen 9
One krone = One English shilling

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The small tribe of polar Eskimos (it has only 30[illegible] members) in the most northern of all human communities is cut off from southern Greenland by Melville Bay and from Baffin Island and Ellesmere Island by Lancaster Sound Jones Sound and Smith Sound In 1950 it was living in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world

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popul ti n is nsured by its maintenance at a level somewhere between the b ological minimum and the economic maximum If it falls below the b ological minimum, degeneracy sets in and the birth rate d indles to vanishing point If it rises abo e the economic maximum there is famine [1] unless the protect n state intervenes

The Eskimos ha e for centuries o ed their existence to a well-established balanc bet een local resources and their own minimum requ rements For s rs past in the arctic region this balance has been disturbed—the

possible ation— npletely to a aken new int esu pendent surrendered to European customs and have become pendent from which they obtain their chief element of barter The his part of the world was both t of view qu te as revolutionary but many people regarded it as d in Thule—because the district hunters are few and the administrati e authorities vigilant—it any case pro ide only a —a small scale system operatin in surroundings —its eff cacy is limited partly because of the natural increase n the population and partly because of the rise in th tand rd of li ing For s nce they came into contact with F ope ns the Eskimos ha e nt oduced gradual changes in their diet coffee tea and tobacco) and in their skins and reindeer h des wood fuel oils along the road to civilization they are bec ming m re exact ng and re no longer to be satisfied with their local resources al ne It s n t imp obable that in these economic circumstances th population will ris above the safe maximum within the fairly near future If fresh local act vities cannot b developed to supplement the trad tional economy the region will soon be ove populated in the Malthusian sense of the t rm As the hunting grounds cannot be indef n tely extended and it is imposs ble to introduce any activities based on further exploitation of animal lif uch as whale fi hing or cod fishin it is already open to speculati n whethe the future of this h ndful of human beings does not depend in the last esort—as hist ry has shown in the case of the nhabitants of other barren egi ns—upon migrat on to the more fertile sub-arctic bo derlands

The Danish Government is already faced with a similar problem on the west c ast of Greenland Owing to the rise in th temperature of the Baffin Sea hi h has caus d th seal to migrate the authorities have encouraged th Gre nl nd rs to transform th manner of life whenever the supply of gam is judged to have fallen bel w an adequat lev l Thus without rega d t the trad tional social structu e the men ha e f r the past twenty five years be n u g d t giv up hunting and turn to fi hing or stock breeding So the half b eed Gr enlanders of th next g nerati n assembled in f ur or fi e

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[1] George *Introduction à ude logi p ique de la population d monde* Ins N onal d É des démographiques Paris 7
George ib d.

world until visited by Robert E Peary during the series of Polar expeditions which he carried out between 1892 and 1909 The first permanent trading station was established by Rasmussen in 1910 but it was not until 1937 that the Danish Government assumed official responsibility for the territory The whole population is now Christian the last member having been baptized in 1934

This group of 302 persons provides a typical example of an isolated community and while this is in itself a question of genetics it has to be considered in connexion with an essentially demographic problem—that of the actual survival of so small a group

A study of vital statistics in small isolated areas points to the conclusion that stability and continuity can be maintained only where there are more than 500 inhabitants Isolated groups of between 300 and 550 inhabitants are in an unbalanced state from which they may either achieve stability or rapidly disappear [1]

A careful analysis[2] of the structure of the population in Thule indicates that these figures are too hard and fast and should be modified It is however true that the demographic situation of the tribe has always been precarious It had 253 members in 1893 207 in 1908 and ?51 in 1923 The population is thus now slightly increasing at the rate of 0 8 per cent per annum Lengthy contact with whites has lowered resistance to disease Tuberculosis has developed Moreover owing to considerable in breeding cases of deformity though not numerous are sufficiently frequent to have an economic effect (being a burden on the community)

The level of [illegible]
rate is 173 per 1 [illegible]
and where birtl [illegible] explained by the unusual prevalence of st[illegible]ility due in part to in breeding Out of 51 women whose childbearing period was over eight or 16 per cent had proved sterile Th[illegible] introduction of Christianity may also h[illegible]
since [illegible]
In th [illegible] [illegible]ities for investigating a numb[illegible] [illegible] affecting the structure of a very small population It sets the problem of the isolated community in a clear light and provides an interesting opportunity of testing the latest evolutionary theories regarding native peoples inhabiting a limited and sparsely populated area The investigation of these theories would certainly be facilitated by the provision of information concerning other isolated groups especially in the arctic regions of Canada but so far as I know this is still very scarce

One conclusion already emerges if this tribe is to maintain its [illegible]
a certain amount of cross breeding [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] appreciable increase in

[illegible]

Are economic resources sufficient to allow of this? In other words what is the optimum population? The impression is that the stability of such a

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J Mala ri L T b h, J S tter L Isol t esq im d Th lé *Population* P ris 95 no. p. 657-93
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population is ensured by its maintenance at a level somewhere between the biological minimum and the economic maximum If it falls below the biological minimum degeneracy sets in and the birth rate dwindles to vanishing point. If it rises above the economic maximum there is famine [1] unless the protecting state intervenes

The Eskimos have for centuries o ed their existence to a well established balance between local resources and their own minimum requirements For some years past in the arctic region, this balance has been disturbed—the needs of the population are increasing

It is to the credit of the Danish Government that it has taken every possible opportunity of using the trading post—that traditional lever of colonization— among the inhabitants The Eskimos have completely ome yearly more dependent hief element of barter The part of the world was both view quite as re olutionary t many people regarded it as Thule—because the district is rich in game hunters are few and the ad ative authorities vigilant—it is inadvisable except n such conditions and can in any case provide only a temporary solution. As a means of supplying food— a small scale system perating n surroundings whe e p oductivity is low —its efficacy is limited partly because of th natural increase in the population and partly because of the rise n the standa d of li ing [2] For since they came into contact with European the Eskimos hav introduced gradu l changes in their diet (incr as d consumption of margarine coffee tea and tobacco) and in their othe h bits (textiles are replacing seal skins and reindeer h des wood fuel oils and co l are being used) Halfway along the road to civilization they are becoming more exacting and are no longer to be satisfied with their local resources alone It s n t improb ble that, in these economic circumstances the popul tion will is above the safe maximum within the fairly near future If fresh local a ti ities cannot be de eloped to supplement the traditional economy the region will soon be o er populat d in the Malth usian sense of the term As the hunting grounds cannot be indefin t ly ext nded and it is h sed on further expl itation of animal t is already open to speculation n beings does not depend in the of the inhabitants of other barren reg ns—upon migrat on to the more fertile sub-arctic borderlands

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[1] George I oduction à ude géogr p ique de la population d monde Insti N tional d É des dém gra p ques Paris p 77

[2] George ibid.

small towns will like their Icelandic neighbours look to fishing o industries to satisfy all their need

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lan ... the Government is striving to Europeanize the life of the Eskimos without impoverishing it This aim can not perhaps be attained in every case but the urgency of the economic problems must be borne in mind

Such are the main lines of the policy followed for nearly two and a half centuries on the west coast of this big island between latitudes 70 N and 60 N In the light of the experience thus gained it has become evident th of cultural and social mot ...

... results can be achieved[1]

... of Eskimo society calls for an assessment of resources—it is a social problem Even a small fluctuation caused for instance by an epidemic or a food shortage can place this handful of people in an alarming situation and in 1950 I found that from the sociological point of view its structure was equally frail

The structure of any Eskimo community is of course admittedly fragile In a society which has never developed beyond the embryonic stage the spread of Christianity and education the visits—however brief and intermittent—of European expeditions and the introduction of modern technical processes have set up a condition of latent traumatism Under the continual impact of these new forces the traditional methods of tribal government have gradually fallen into disuse they survived until 1951 only because the Danish authorities both private and governmental had wisely refrained—in 1910 and again in 1938—from disturbing the segregated and isolated life of the tribe To all appearances it still leads a balanced existence but the real situation is not reassuring

The traditional religious theories of the people strike them today as untenable Their legends and beliefs no longer backed by the authority of the medicine man are gradually being forgotten Relationships within the tribe having lost their religious implications are changing In former times they were based on respect for the most experienced hunter now they are conditioned among the young men by their degree of Europeanization—diplomas bank accounts administrative responsibilities Instead of hunting in parties for bear or walrus they go out individually to set traps The spirit of fellowship which was maintained by common interests is now declining and giving place to an individualistic and commercial spirit which because of the demands of trade is directed towards the outer world

In fact if we follow Levi Strauss s suggestion[2] and consider those external characteristics which affect the structure of what we call a primitive society and distinguish it from the type of society we regard as modern or civilized we are forced to admit that they are no longer to be found in Thule It may

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seem surprising that in such circumstances development should not hı 'e been remember the exceptional isolation of the polar n But no investigator ance and economic ow merely a brittle -chnologically more shell At any sudden to la advanced the shell may be expected to crack Laboui \ ll then become available for fresh undertakings And conditions are such as to attract it towa ds an expanding economic area—though if the attract on is to be suf ficiently strong that area must be in the neighbourhood of the region to F kmos are attached by sentiment

- 1 1951 when an American duced to 5 000 in 1952— was established urse chosen for strategic rather than economic reasons and it was pu ely by chance that this gigantic airfield was created close to an Eskimo settlement The future will show whether a base s tuated further north in a better position from the economic point of view vill not prove more suitable than Thule for civil aviation.

In ny case the construction of this airfield by complicating the problem h n d the need for investigation. ween a small tribe nilitary civilizat on has given cause f r very serious u oug I In the course of a few weeks this community has unde gone a positive transformation Will it be ble to draw steady benefit from the change? This depends partly on the daptabil ty of the people themsel es wh ch we know to be considerable but partly too on the peed with wh ch new native leaders succeed in modernizing the local way of life while preserving some of its essential features Th he wa sa ed f om disintegration in 1951 because the Danish authorities h base were nctive fear—and also because there was no \ ork for them at th e ecause they ould no longe carry on their ordinary occupations in the immediate n ghbourhood of Thule (th water was polluted by petrol the seals migrated and ther was noise and dust)—decided of their o n acco d to move 200 kilometres furth r north to the old village of Kranak

It must not, however be supposed that this northward flight will settle the diffi ulty for very l ng Th re have been som interesting examples of counter ulturation, but these a e bound to be ephemeral Though the Thule of legend has changed ts site the problem remains to be solved and time is not

to bring about the disappearance of this primiti e group regarded as a specific social unit.

If its members are to be integrated it is highly advisable for their integrat on t take pl e befo their forme social structure has d generated too far—and they themselves with t The tests I c rried out with schoolage children (Rors ha h the Zazzo cross-out the Prudhommeau copied drawing) the particul rs suppli d by the local autho ities and abo e all the technological

small towns will like their Icelandic neighbours look to fish ... industries to satisfy all their need

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predominant in the country its members belonging to several different cultural levels Most of the 3 million people who make up the lower social ... mm nities which are relics of the old ayllus surviving ... brought them into exis... gnized by the law and for the past thirty years ... nder special protection to prevent th ir d s ntegration so that they are no longer in danger from the greed of neighbouring landow n rs They are social units which can and should be evn fied, for generally speaking their present level of production is scarcely suffic ent to meet local consumer needs These communities are at present being stud ed by Peruvian ethnolog sts who are preparing a plan for c ... rting them into act ve centres of production by taking advantage of ... h lped them to lay the foundations of ... to have the co-oper ... dy —anthropologists, economists sociologists agricu ... ors teachers psychologists town planners engineers etc — working closely together in the central government departments and in the villages themselves The Huarochiri p oject (in an Ind an community in the Department of Lima) is the first exper ment along these l nes, undertaken partly as a pilot project

In order to h w how far these commun t es ha e an organized structure and are p epared for modern l fe we shall describe the pos tion in three of them Muquiy uyo Tupe and Taquile Muquiyauyo is considered to be one of the most highly developed communities in Peru Tupe is the surviving remnant of an old ethno-l nguistic group the Kauke Taquile on Lake T ticaca the least advanced of the three communit es and may be regarded as be ng still n 1954 at the stage characterist c of the old Indian commun ties

THE ISLAND OF TAQUILE[1]

... mm ty of 650 people l ving on one of the ... of nea ly 12 600 feet Only two ... ma nder of the populat on speaking ... icultural and th main crop is the potato for centur es past the people nave had the subs stence economy typ cal of Indian commun ties They have only one harvest a year as they ha e no water fo rrigation the rains a therefore a determining factor in the annual hythm of th r life The change in th system of landownership which has been go ng on over th last twenty five years determ nes their ent e attitud nd conduct Unt l 1930 all the Indians were simply *colo os* (peons) of absentee mestizo landlo ds S nce then as a result of var ous favourable cumstances the *colonos* ha e begun to purchase their o n land

The island which is about three miles long and on and a qua ter w de at the widest part was in 1580 awarded to a Spaniard, who became its first owner u der Spanish law During the seventeenth and e ghteenth centu ies it passed int the hands of a series of d fferent owners and thereafter was transmitted by nher tance until in 1930 it was divided between eight owners

José M tos *La propriété dans l'île Taquile*. Extracts from th *T ave de l'Inst ut F nçais d'Études And nes*, ol. II Paris-Lima, 51. Rosalia A. M tos *L Org ation sociale dans l'île de Taquile*, Idem.

history of this race reveal the people s extraordinary adaptability (mechanical skill talent for learning languages evident willingness) The stage of development they have already reached together with their natural qualities suggest that at the present moment they run no risk of being overmodernized Their integration must of course be carefully planned and too abrupt contacts avoided It should also be possible to make use of their particular aptitudes —fur farming training them as guides for work in the mountains or rescue teams for use in plane crashes—to instruct them and encourage them to specialize Such a policy if introduced without delay and carried out with moderation and caution may perhaps lead to the formation of a new type of Eskimo society

In view of the limited resources available to these people and the danger that their tribal structure may collapse as a result of the establishment of the military base one wonders (though this to some extent contradicts what I have written elsewhere[1]) whether the opening of the Arctic to air traffic may not turn out to be providential for the Eskimo people—not in every case but wherever local resources are insufficient to enable them to eke out a living by adding sea fishing to hunting their attachment to their native soil makes them shrink from migrating to any considerable distance Only in the require ments of the infra structure can such groups find new and profitable activities through which to satisfy their recently awakened material and cultural needs It is sincerely to be hoped that these new developments will not end by creating a situation which it is their specific purpose to prevent —a situation in which the native population becomes doubly proletarian having lost its tribal structure without acquiring any vocational qualifications

THREE INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN PERU

J Matos Mar

Peru like most of the Latin American countries is considered to be under developed [3] A third of its 9 million inhabitants eke out a precarious existence and take practically no part in the life of the nation Owing to their racial and cultural characteristics this great body of people commonly known as the Indian population is only slowly being absorbed into the Peruvian culture giving rise to a series of cultural adjustments and disadjustments and finally to acculturation a phenomenon which has been characteristic of the country for the last four hundred years but which is taking place in unpropitious circumstances This process is leading to the development of a mixed or mestizo population (both culturally and physically) which is at present

J M l Problèmes éco omiq es t humains Groel la d. N Th 16 A nales d Géogr phie P ris 95 L 3 6 p 9 7

G Bal d er Contrib tion à un soci logi d la dépe d ce C h er nternationa de Soc ol gie P ri 95 vol. XII p 47-9. Cf. p. 57

This pression is used in th sense in which it i mployed by h Uni ed N ion — M sures for h Economic De lopm t l L derd veloped Count es R port by gro p f pert ppoi ed by th Secre ry-General f th United N ti ns M y 95

predominant in the country its members belonging to several different cultural levels Most of the 3 million people who make up the lower social ... which are relics of the old ayllus surviving ... into exis... he law and

to prevent their disintegration ... greed of neighbouring landowners They are social units ... should be revivified for generally speaking their present level of production is scarcely sufficient to meet local consumer needs. These communities are at present being studied by Peruvian ethnologists who are preparing a plan for converting them into active centres of production by taking advantage of the latent energies which in the past helped them to lay the foundations of the old Peruvian culture If such a plan is to be prepared it is essential to have the co-operation of teams of specialists in various branches of study —anthropologists, economists sociologists agricultural experts, doctors teachers psychologists town planners, engineers etc — working closely together in the central government departments and in the villages themselves The Huarochiri project (in an Indian community in the Department of Lima) is the first experiment along these lines undertaken partly as a pilot project

In order to show how far these communities have an organized structure and are prepared for modern life we shall describe the position in three of them Muquiyauyo Tupe and Taquile Muquiyauyo is considered to be one of the most highly developed communities in Peru Tupe is the surviving remnant of an old ethno-linguistic group the Kauke Taquile on Lake Titicaca is the least advanced of the three communities and may be regarded as being still in 1954 at the stage characteristic of the old Indian communities

THE ISLAND OF TAQUILE

Taquile is a homogeneous community of 650 people living on one of the islands on Lake Titicaca at an altitude of nearly 12 600 feet Only two adult and six children speak Spanish the remainder of the population speaking only Kechua The native economy is agricultural and the main crop is the potato For centuries past the people have had the subsistence economy typical of Indian communities They have only one harvest a year as they have no water for irrigation the rains are therefore a determining factor in the annual rhythm of their life The change in the system of landownership which has been going on over the last twenty five years determines the entire attitude and conduct Until 1930 all the Indians were simply *colonos* (peons) of absentee mestizo landlords Since then as a result of various favourable circumstances the *colonos* have begun to purchase their own land

The island which is about three miles long and one and a quarter wide at the widest part was in 1580 awarded to a Spaniard who became its first owner under Spanish law During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it passed into the hands of a series of different owners and thereafter was transmitted by inheritance until in 1930 it was divided between eight owners

José M tos, *La propriété dans l'île Taquile*, Extracts from the T... de l'Institut F...ç... d'Études Andines Vol. III. Paris-Lima 9 Rosali A. M tos *L'Organisation sociale dans l'île de Taquile* Idem.

who habitually referred to their estates on the island as haciendas Until that date small as the estates were the landlords still received a proportion of the crops Throughout this long period the Indians being treated as *colonos* were really serfs bound to the soil they were transferred with the land and animals from one owner to another and even awa
island were obliged to perform a serie
kipu mitani
to the wor
to maintai ... their authority

The jour ... nearest town which was then made on rafts of *totora* (known as *balsas*) was very tiring it took fifteen hours to cover the thirty mile stretch of water This was one of the main reasons for the isolation of the island and the lack of interest shown by the landowners after a certain time especially as they derived no great profit from their lands there This situation encouraged a group of Indians to form a company which by formal deed purchased three of the properties on credit this action was subsequently repeated until there are now only two small properties not belonging to the Indians Until then the head of each family was simply entitled to a limited area of arable land in each of the four *suyos* into which the island is divided a house (accompanied by a small *canchon* or vegetable plot) on the estate of which he was a *colono* and a few animals for his own needs After the purchase of the land these traditional right
and further plots of land were
e
a ... aquile This began to make
th ... distrustful of him and as a result they no longer presented a united front

Lake Titicaca is subject to periodic fluctuations its level rising and falling in regular sequence one of the great falls in its level (sixteen feet in five years) began in 1944 leading to the almost complete disappearance of the *totora* a species of typha growing on the banks and in the shallows of the lake which is an extremely important raw material in native industries At the outset the disappearance of the *totora* was a calamity Owing to the shortage of raw material for building their rafts the Indians were in danger of being left with no means of communication This problem which also affected the inhabitants of the other islands and peninsulas in the lake led to the use of sailing boats In this way the journey from Taquile to Puno was reduced from fifteen to four or five hours The first boat was bought but the others were built on the island by the Indians who now have five of them The growth of landownership and the change in communications have quite altered conditions in the island The closely knit community has come safely through a stage of crucial importance Although the Indians have become the owners of almost the whole island and although the performance of services without payment for the former owners has been abolished the importance of the island in the life of the co ... ed and scarcely any
... of land is now in the
common pasturage
t ... ows the traditional pattern the same crops are grown and the same implements used for tilling the land—the *taklla* (a primitive foot plough) and the ox-drawn plough The work is done both individually and collectively the systems of *ayni* (mutual help) *minka* (communal work)

yanapankuy (mutual help among people not related to one another) and independent co-operative groups for the conduct of specific activities are all working perfectly satisfactorily

The Indians make their own clothing and weave their own cloth Their harvests are sufficient for them to engage in a little trade partly barter and partly sale for money They gradually collect the necessary amounts for the purchase of land the building of boats and the buying of the commodities they need for their own consumption such as matches lamp oil wool alcohol (for celebrations) and miscellaneous goods They supply the outside market with potatoes wood for fuel and a few carved stone objects

The presence of a school which has been in existence for eight years has so far brought about no improvement mainly because it has not taken due account of the special requirements of the community

The struggle for the ownership of land and the change in the means of communication and transport are thus the two main factors conducive to economic development and the introduction of modern technology The Indians living on the island are now in close and constant touch with Puno which in its way is the most advanced centre on the Peruvian plateau The other Indian communities look up to them and quote them as an example as being the first to acquire ownership of the land they cultivate It is interesting to note however that the people of Taquile from all other points of view are still the most conservative group to be found on the islands in the lake Their traditional institutions are still marked by the Western influence to which they were subjected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries The people are skilful at weaving and stone working As the possibilities of agricultural development will always be limited even in the most favourable circumstances the increase in the population will make it more and more difficult for the land to support the people This problem cannot be solved on Taquile the necessity of leaving the island to find another means of livelihood is beginning to be felt and a few of the inhabitants have gone as far away as Arequipa to work on the land taking the places of peasants who have become industrial workers

proceeds

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY OF TUPE

Tupe is a mestizo community in which the Indian influence is predominant It is today a survival of the Kauke ethno-linguistic group which is akin to Aymara although it differs both from this and from the Kechua It is a conservative group which is also represented in another part of Peru (the mountainous region of the Department of Lima) by a series of surviving communities that have not lost their vitality It consists of about a thousand people living in four centres of population all of whom without exception speak Spanish and Kauke This community is in direct touch with more advanced centres such as Canete Chincha and Lima Until the last thirty years the men used to make long journeys on foot for the sheep and cattle

who habitually referred to their estates on the island as haciendas Until that date small as the estates were the landlords still received a proportion of the crops Throughout this long period the Indians being treated as *colonos* were really serfs bound to the soil they were transferred with the land and animals from one owner to another and even away from the island were obliged to perform a series of comn
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The jour y to Puno the nearest town which was then made on rafts of *totora* (known as *balsas*) was very tiring it took fifteen hours to cover the thirty mile stretch of water This was one of the main reasons for the isolation of the island and the lack of interest shown by the landowners after a certain time especially as they derived no great profit from their lands there This situation encouraged a group of Indians to form a company which by formal deed purchased three of the properties on credit this action was subsequently repeated until there are now only two small properties not belonging to the Indians Until then the head of each family was simply entitled to a limited area of arable land in each of the four *suyos* into which the island is divided a house (accompanied by a small *canchon* or vegetable plot) on the estate of which he was a *colono* and
needs After
and further
each individ ... y was the prime mover in this action and so became the largest landowner on Taquile This began to make the other Indians distrustful of him and as a result they no longer presented a united front

Lake Titicaca is subject to periodic fluctuations its level rising and falling in regular sequence one of the great falls in its level (sixteen feet in five years) began in 1944 leading to the almost complete disappearance of the *totora* a species of typha growing on the banks and in the shallows of the lake which is an extremely important raw material in native industries At the outset the disappearance of the *totora* was a calamity Owing to the shortage of raw material for building their rafts the Indians were in danger of being left with no means of communication This problem which also affected the inhabitants of the other islands and peninsulas in the lake led to the use of sailing boats In this way the journey from Taquile to Puno was reduced from fifteen to four or five hours The first boat was bought but the others were built on the island by the Indians who now have five of them The growth of landownership and the change in communications have quite altered conditions in the island The closely knit community has come safely through a stage of crucial importance Although the Indians have become the owners of almost the whole island and although the performance of services without payment for the former owners has been abolished the importance of the island in the life of the country has not increased and scarcely any progress has been made with its assimilation Ownership of land is now in the hands of individuals but the land lying fallow is used for common pasturage the system of cultivation follows the traditional pattern the same crops are grown and the same implements used for tilling the land—the *taklla* (a primitive foot plough) and the ox-drawn plough The work is done both individually and collectively the systems of *ayni* (mutual help) *minka* (communal work)

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are losing their old skill at the loom. The people are qu a e to
developments but conservati e as the survival of their language sl ows

The extens ve areas set aside for pasture could support larger flocks and herds which s ould enable the community to supply the coastal market The sale of wool is already br nging in a large income but the money is not very wisely used The productive capacity of the narrow gorge where the peasants grow their crops on long established terraces is steadily diminishing as a result of the use of unsatisfactory farm implements unskilful repair of the terraces and the shortag of water at certain times although there are lakes on the mountain tops The peasants all own small plots of land in various parts of the gorge and cultivate them by d fferent methods There are three separate forms of labour m ga or work by a man or woman paid by the day turna or voluntary help gi en in the hope of receiving similar help known as returna (this is the old system of ay i) and finally fajina or communal labour (the traditi nal minka)

The diet here unlike that of population of Taquile is poor and inadequate although generally speaking the economic standard of the latter community is th lower Trade is well established the members of the community begin young and learn to trade by taking cattle or cheese down to the coast some of them have opened small shops in the village of which there are at present fifteen.

The nfluence of Cathol cism is declining although the rel gious institutions and brothe hoods dating from the seventeenth century are st ll powerful F om the economic standpoint the latte act as small banks for the r members The loans they make by the year never exceed 200 soles (about £A) and the interest is constantly added to the capital There are about thirty of these brotherhoods and every peasant belongs to at least one of them The d a that in ested cap tal should produce interest is thus well established

needed in the way of machinery and o g
they try to gi e their children better opportunities by sending them to school in the t wns Tupe is a community in transit on and like many others is wa ting to bec me a part of a larger entity which will give it a new lease of life For the time being it is drift ng along by itself without problems of l ndownership valries with its ne ghbours or imminent dangers besetting it

THE COMMUNITY OF MUQUIYAUYO

Thi c mmunity enjoys a very definite prestige which since 1921 has spread beyond the f ontiers of Peru and accounts for the interest still taken by anthropol gists in Muquiyauyo It i a typical example of what a mestizo group in the

Richard N dam S ad Labour Pre erence in Peru in H ma Org zation l no 3 A m
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trade As a consequence of the development of communications they have given up this practice and now scarcely ever leave their own part of the country where they carry on agriculture their principal form of activity and stock rearing The main road linking them with the large towns is four or five hours walk away and like the neighbouring communities they are trying to build themselves a connecting road The community lives at an altitude of about 9 300 feet in a mountainous gorge in the Andes Like most of the communities in the Department of Lima it leads an isolated life the ground is so broken that the villages have very little contact with one another The greatest concentration of these communities is at Huarochiri where there are twelve of them Generally speaking communication with the outside world is by way of the nearest valley to the neighbouring coastal towns and by way of the latter with Lima

There have never been large estates owned by outsiders at Tupe the land has always been the property of the local peasants Up to [illegible] ago or rathe [illegible] ownership [illegible] local consun [illegible] is derived from the sale of animals (cattle sheep and goats) and from the sale of wool and cheese The *puna* at an altitude of about 13 000 to 16 000 feet is the only land still held in common and there the flocks are reared The community itself has a capital fund which was established a long time ago and is increased year by year by the contributions of the members of the community and the interest on investments in the shape of annual loans Women on an equal footing with men play a very active part in the life of the community the work and responsibilities they undertake (the agricultural work is entirely in their hands) give them prestige and the men are thus left free to engage in trade The preservation of the old traditions is very largely due to the women s influence

Unlike the school at Taquile that at Tupe which was established fifty years ago has already achieved much the members of the community themselves being responsible for its success It is now however going through a period of crisis (Because of the past history of the place there are still a few people in Lima who originally came from Tupe and are interested in the welfare of the community although as things are at present they can take no effective action on its behalf)

For administrative purposes the village comes under three institutions— the Government the municipality and the community council The field of the first is purely political the municipality is short of money and of very little importance the community council in fact carries out the necessary improvements and development work Without any encouragement from the authorities of the department and province the Indians have been carrying out the projects they consider most desirable or accepting suggestions from people living in Lima who originally came from the community

At present the following projects are under [illegible]

[illegible] ther with the continual [illegible] root of certain rivalries [illegible] interests though the feeling is still seen to be strong at seed time and the various festivals

with two 75 h p Westinghouse units which have been working day and night since that date The feed channel is 2 miles long and has a discharge of 3 cubic metres a second Its maximum power is 150 kilowatts it provides electric [illegible] ments including Jauja. The organization for running [illegible] The station has a staff of five [illegible] 50)

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tion [illegible] ith

Some of the money collected was invested [illegible] a native of Muquiyauyo living at Huancayo with the object of buying machinery for a spinning mill The company Textil Muquiyauyo has a capital of 300 000 soles it owns its premises which have been handed over [illegible] The machines have been installed but it has not so [illegible] siderable amount of

[illegible] ill which has been running since 1927 Each mem[illegible] s only 40 cents per *arroba* (25 lb) while others have to pay 80 cents The mill is run by a 10 h.p dynamo The staff includes a miller who is paid on a percentage basis by the month and a voluntary manager

Why did such a community once embarked on the process of industrialization, fail to complete it in spite of the equipment acquired?

The following are some of the factors that have helped to cause this stagnation

1 The ratio of people to land has been completely changed The population increased from 2 000 in 1918 to 5 100 in 1952 Of the eight square miles intended for the cultivation of food crops half is now used for growing feeding stuffs for the cattle and sheep The ratio has thus been completely reversed This is due to the very large production of milk—220 gallons a day for five months of the year and 70 for the remaining months almost all of which is produced for sale outside Muquiyauyo and brings in a considerable income Malnutrition is beginning to affect the community There is clear evidence of it in the poor work done by the schoolchildren The problem is becoming serious and efforts are being made to solve it (mistakenly) by bringing into use part of the forest area although there are still non irrigated lands where the water problem though difficult is not insoluble

2 The new generations have not fully replaced their predecessors most of whom have now died or emigrated The school has ceased to play the leading part it did some thirty years ago the old enthusiasm has abated The best members of the population have left the district for the mining centres and there is no family which has not at least one of its members in the mines This work pays well especially as Muquiyauyo still has a good [illegible] on coming from the community is well received It [illegible] rise to be [illegible] them die of [illegible] nity who is [illegible] away pays 150 soles a month to the [illegible] ake part in the communal work

Another group those who have continued their training for a trade or profession after leaving school seek work in Lima or in the main towns of

central mountain area can achieve by its own unaided effo t nd dance from any but its own m mb
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u external reasons One
v which any achievement by those regarded as natives always gives rise During the last twenty years they have accordingly been seriously hampered by a campaign of constant opposition the result of which has been to some extent to break down their former sense of unity and common interest

The factors which made the development of the community possible were the following

1 Two thousand inhabitants in possession of some eight square miles of fertile ground producing such abundant crops as to permit the sale of the surplus and who displayed a strong community spirit
2 Until 1900 there was a clearly marked division into castes (mestizo and Indian) each of which had its own authorities Since then the social organization has changed and the land has been divided up collective ownership has given way to private ownership h
are still commur
to the Church
bring in a con. ot quarters have been established among which the population is divided Indians and mestizos have thus been brought into the same system and their efforts united
3 Through the school an energetic education campaign benefited both Indians and mestizos and rapidly provided Muquiyauyo with qualified leaders whose influence was readily accepted Education was the basis on which the teachers and organizers relied for the future development of the community
4 The community found that its original capital furnished by the contributions of its members was considerably increased by the fines imposed for failure to take part in communal work and by the interest of 2 and 5 per cent charged on the loans granted up to a maximum of 200 soles to its members The main reason for the economic success was the good agricultural yield and the existence of such markets in the vicinity as Jauja the capital of the province six miles away Huan t
in Peru
rail and
the valle
5 The steady development of neighbouring mining centres quickly began to attract workers The influence was felt in Muquiyauyo as in the other communities and gradually its young men went to work in the mines the good wages paid them increasing the economic strength of the community Those who were regarded as Indians in the community saw that they could get good jobs there and this gave rise to a spirit of real competition (Within the group the Indians and mestizos are still distinguished although outsiders class them all as Indians)

The various circumstances created an atmosphere conducive to progress which in 1918 led the members of the community to establ
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the departments there being no opportunities for them in the community Several members are given scholarships by the commune in order to complete their education but the best of them are lost to the community (which was not so thirty or forty years ago)

3 The hostility of the larger neighbouring villages and the [illegible] later [illegible] which [illegible] The [illegible] able [illegible] support from outside would have been invaluable in carrying out the plans But the reverse occurred the leaders constantly accused for being political agitators of the extreme left or fomentors of sedition were imprisoned and controls thwarted all further advance

4 The technical advances that the members of the community were trying to introduce confronted them with problems for which they were not mentally prepared The management of the electric power station and the spinning mill was never efficient and this was one of the fundamental reasons for failure Four years ago the people were cheated by a commercial firm from which they had purchased additional equipment to improve the power station for a sum of 300 000 soles two transformers which could not be coupled to the existing machinery stood idle for two years although in the end one of them was adapted and is now in use Several managers also embezzled large sums No strict supervision was exercised over the installation of the street lamps in Jauja If the receipts were well administered the present income could be doubled

Muquiyauyo is a mestizo community living in the western part of the lovely and fertile valley of the Mantaro its fields lie on perfectly flat ground which makes farming easier Some of the people still speak Kechua at home The village is built on the chequer board plan of a Spanish town it has thirty five shops and an omnibus providing a daily service to Jauja and Huancayo it has no drinking water or sanitary services

In conclusion we may draw attention to a few important aspects of the Peruvian Indian communities

1 The Peruvian Indian communities take an inferior place in the cultural structure of present day Peru There are however shades of difference and variations in the stage of development to be seen among them as in the cases of Taquile Tupe and Muquiyauyo
2 The common denominator is a consumption economy based on the combination of agriculture and stock rearing (the latter on a small scale)
3 From the cultural point of view they are ill equipped to cope with the changes to which the introduction of modern technology for the purposes of industrial development may give rise
4 They constitute ideal basic units for the development of a large region of of Peru—the mountain district where more than half the population of the country lives They can be made productive supplying the nation with adequate quantities of foodstuffs and can help in the development of modern industry maintaining a proper balance between the number of people and the area of arable land available They were able to produce a considerable quantity of crops between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries under the Inca empire

5 The cultural de elopment of several of them (e g Muquiyauyo) shows that in this respect no ad ance is possible even for an energetic community unless an overall plan supported by the ... making must be based on a firm ... ommunities This means that

6 Anthropological and statistica s ... solutely necessary as a pre liminary to any planning

7 ... f acculturation is rapidly making Peru a predominantly ... n the underdeveloped ... turation is proceeding ... cally be said to direct ... t From this po t o ... yo has much to teach us

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3 The hostility of the larger neighbouring villages and the indifference and later the hostility of the central government have been a serious handicap which many people consider to be at the root of the decline in initiative The inevitable internal struggles for improvement called for considerable efforts Stimulus understanding and support from outside would have been invaluable in carrying out the plans But the reverse occurred the leaders constantly accused for being political agitators of the extreme left or fomentors of sedition were imprisoned and controls thwarted all further advance

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PART II

ORGANIZATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES REVIEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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I ORGANIZATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNESCO'S INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The swift development of the social sciences during the past 25 years and the increasingly important part which they are called upon to play in the reorganization of the modern world have prompted Unesco to consider the methods of social science teaching at present employed in the different cultural regions

The purpose of this paper is to describe the various stages of the inquiry into social science teaching to show what results have been achieved and to identify certain future activities which would follow on from the inquiry and would be likely to lead to fresh progress in knowledge of man and society

INQUIRY INTO THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Unlike other great branches of learning the social sciences have by no means reached the same stage of development in each and every part of the world In some countries they occupy an important place in higher education in others little social science is taught and moreover curricula and teaching methods vary considerably from country to country

Therefore taking account of the prominent part which social science teaching should play in training for citizenship and of its potential contribution to the improvement of international understanding the General Conference of Unesco at its fifth session (Florence 1950) authorized the Director General of Unesco "To undertake surveys in some countries of the types of courses and methods of instruction in the social sciences" (Resolution 3 15)

In pursuance of this resolution the Director General called a meeting on 15 November 1950 of the Secretaries-General of the International Political Science Association, the International Economic Association the International Sociological Association the International Committee of Comparative Law and the International Studies Conference The first of many important problems to be considered by this meeting was the establishment of the list of countries to be covered by the inquiry In order to make the inquiry as general as possible the list had to include countries representative of different cultures and having different educational systems It was agreed to include the following countries Egypt France India Mexico Sweden United Kingdom United States of America and Yugoslavia further it was understood that the international associations should have every discretion to obtain, for their own purposes additional reports on countries not covered by the general inquiry

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The second task of the meeting of Secretaries General was to draw up a draft questionnaire to serve as a basis for the preparation of national reports on the teaching of the different disciplines in the countries mentioned The purpose of the questionnaire was to show what information was required and to ensure as much uniformity as possible in the presentation of the data collected

It remained for the meeting to define the meaning and content of the term social sciences It very soon became apparent that to work out an exact and systematic definition of the various social science disciplines their respective fields and their mutual relations would have required a considerable amount of preliminary work and that even then there would have been no guarantee that the results achieved would be generally acceptable There is still no clear definition of the content of the social sciences often the most fundamental concepts as well as the terminology vary from country to country To quote only one example social anthropology in the sense accepted in Great Britain differs from cultural anthropology as taught in the United States In France the term *anthropologie sociale* is not at all commonly used in universities moreover what is taught as this subject often comes under the heading of *ethnologie*

Nevertheless in order to conduct a general inquiry into the teaching of social sciences the Secretariat had to have some definition of their content It therefore decided to adopt the empirical method of requesting the various international associations accustomed to working with the Secretariat to assume responsibility for the inquiry in their own particular fields Thus the International Sociological Association was entrusted with the inquiry on sociology interpreted in a very wide sense so as to include anthropology and social psychology the International Economic Association was entrusted with the inquiry on political economy the International Political Science Association with the inquiry on political science the International Committee of Comparative Law with the inquiry on law and the philosophy of law and the International Studies Conference with the inquiry on international relations Subsequently the Econometric Society was assigned the task of preparing a report on the teaching of econometry

The inquiry was to be limited to university studies Each of the International Associations appointed a rapporteur general for its field of study as a whole The following were chosen for sociology Professor Pierre de Bie of Louvain University for economics Mr C W Guillebaud of St John s College Cambridge for political science Professor W A Robson of the London School of Economics and Political Science London for law Professor J P Niboyet of the Faculty of Law of Paris University Professeur Niboyet who died shortly afterwards was replaced by Professor C Eisemann of the same university for international relations Professor C A W Manning of the London School of Economics and Political Science London

The preliminary phase and the organization of the inquiry ended with a second meeting of the five rapporteurs general held in London on 17 and 18 July 1951 All the problems raised by the inquiry and particularly that of the drafting of the questionnaire were again studied and steps were taken to ensure reception at the earliest possible date of the reports on all the countries included in the general list In all 54 experts submitted national reports to the five international associations responsible for the inquiry into social science teaching (see Appendix I p 487)

The General Conference of Unesco at its session in Paris in 1951 expressed a wish that the inquiry should be continued and authorized the Director-General in the following resolution to embark on the second phase namely that of the compilation and presentation of the data collected

The Director-General is authorized

To formulate the results of the inquiry carried out in 1951 into the teaching of the social sciences so that Member States and the competent international organizations may derive therefrom suitable principles for the development and improvement of this teaching (Resolution 6C/3 15)

In pursuance of the above resolution agreements were concluded with the various international associations for the organization of round table meetings and the preparation and discussion of the general reports concerning their respective disciplines Further at the request of the rapporteurs-general the Secretariat undertook to obtain information about the general structure of higher education, and particularly about the university teaching of social sciences in the eight countries covered by the general inquiry To this end reports were prepared by the following experts Messrs M Taha Hussein (Egypt) J Chapsal (France) S Mathai (India) G Casanova (Mexico) and R Eriksson (Sweden) Sir Ernest Barker (United Kingdom) M H Taylor (United States of America) and Mr R Uvalic (Yugoslavia)

Marking the final stage of the inquiry an inter-disciplinary meeting was held in Paris from 16 to 19 September 1952 in order to formulate a series of recommendations regarding ways of improving existing methods of social science teaching A detailed account of these recommendations will be given in the next paragraph meanwhile however it should be mentioned that this meeting of 20 experts from 11 different countries (see Appendix II) was required to consider in the light of the data collected and presented by the rapporteurs-general all the work accomplished since 1951 and to study certain problems which it was apparently essential to solve if social science teaching in universities was to be developed These problems were as follows (a) the status of the social sciences in universities (b) the place of social sciences in general education and their role in training for certain careers and (c) the training and recruitment of university teachers and teaching methods The experts report was submitted to the General Conference of Unesco at its seventh session (see document 7C/PRG/24 of 7 November 1952) and distributed by the Secretariat

In approving the experts report the General Conference at its seventh session decided that the inquiry into social science teaching should be followed up by practical achievements To that end it passed the following resolution

The Director-General is authorized to encourage social science teaching in universities and secondary schools emphasizing the contribution that such teaching can make to human progress and to education for living in a world community (Resolution 3 141)

The Secretariat immediately undertook a threefold project

1 The publication in separate volumes of the five general reports prepared under the responsibility of the International Associations *The Teaching of Political Science* by W A Robson *The Teaching of International Relations* by C A W Manning *The Teaching of Economics* by C W Guillebaud *The Teaching of Law* by C Eisenmann *The Teaching of Sociology Anthropology and Social Psychology* by P de B C Lévi Strauss and J Nuttin

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and the valuable factors of the cultural diversity of the various peoples Ho ever on a numbe of specific points the experts put forward suggest ons which n thei opinion should facilitate the development and improvement of social science teaching

First and foremost, their conclusions reveal one prime necessity—a det r mination to break down the excessive divisions between the var ous branches of social science and their teaching Such a removal of barriers will lead to exchanges of views from v hich these disciplines will benefit and bridge the gaps occas onally left between each separate branch of social science This aim, which can be achieved in several ways according to the different national s tuations will certainly be discus ed at the various regional conferences to be held in 1954 The experts stressed that v hatever the institutional formula adopted t is essential that study cycles should be organized for each branch of the social sciences and that all these cycles should lead to equivalent diplomas

The experts further emphasized the need for citizens to understand the organization and working of the society in which they are required to l ve they therefore indicated to univers ties the desirability of studying the place that the social sciences should take in general education and the part those sciences should play in the general and professional training of students who were prepa ng for certain ca eers requiring a thorough knov ledge of social chan es such as the careers of civil servant trade union off cial architect town planner journalist lawyer etc

T hing and Training in the Social Scienc s

The experts v ho met in September 195 discussed the problems arising for all social science disc plines in regard to teaching and training Considering that t was perhaps in this field that the greatest account must be taken of national habits traditions and, to some extent outine the experts considered that social science teaching should always be in line with the two following princ ples

1 Stud nts of whatever branch of soc al science should be given a general view of the social sc ences as a whole so that they can appreciate the complexity and interd pendence of the p oblems wh ch arise in any and every human society

2 Students should be able to specialize at a relatively early stage in the discipline o group of disciplines n wh ch they are to carry out work of a s entific o pra tical natu e

The means of carrying these general p inciples into p actice cannot be dis ussed h e n full But the regional conferences planned n 1954 have paid pecial att ntion to the experts recommendations on this subject and parti cula ly to th suggestions concernin a bette organization of students v ork Questions of methods of wo k (team or individual) l nks between teaching and resea ch as well as examinat ns and th conferring of university degrees should n each cas be cons d ed in the light of practical realities so that s lutions can be worked out which can late be applied at the national level

Recru tme t f T achers

In the social sciences as in any other field of sc entific knowledge the method of recru ting tea h rs and the qualificat ons required of them vary ons derably f om one country to anothe On the one hand we have teacher

Unesco is also issuing booklets for students on all the countries covered by the inquiry Three of these booklets on the teaching of the various social science disciplines in France the United Kingdom and the United States of America have already been published

2 Furthermore the Secretariat organized three regional conferences in 1954 on social science teaching the first at New Delhi and the other two at Beirut and in Costa Rica There could be no question of recommending that all nations adopt a uniform system of teaching and regional conferences attended by representatives of countries with close geographical and cultural links will provide a means of working out in further detail how the recommendations put forward by the experts who met from 16 to 19 September 1952 can be applied to those countries Above all these conferences by affording an opportunity of d... sing how general principles can b... way for national conferences ... embodying the findings of ... regional meetings

3 Lastly the Secretariat made arrangements for the despatch to Latin America and Pakistan of two missions of experts which were placed at the Governments disposal The experts appointed are in possession of the fullest possible information on the organ... reorganization and modernization of the teaching at present provided in the countries they visit

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 1952 COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

As we have seen the recommendations adopted by the 1952 Committee of Experts form a general set of principles for the improvement of social science teaching and it is proposed that they should be carried into effect through the organization of regional and later national conferences and the sending of missions of experts They thus form a guide for action so that in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Conference at its sixth session Member States and the competent international organizations may derive (from the results of the inquiry) suitable principles for the development and improvement of (social science) teaching In this connexion brief mention should be made of the main proposals put forward by the experts concerning the status of the social sciences in universities teaching and training in the social sciences and the recruitment of teachers

Status of the Social Sciences in Universities

On studying the information assembled by the various international associations in the course of the inquiry the experts were impressed by what seemed to be its very great diversity In most countries social science teaching has been introduced by gradual stages into existing university structures This was done in various ways—in some cases through the slow and as it were organic evolution of the national system in others by the systematic assimilation of foreign influences or models Accordingly there could be no question of general recommendations that ignored the universities historical evolution

We thus see that, owing to the very nature of the problems brought to light by the inquiry, it would be natural to extend this inquiry in at least three further directions.

So far as the disciplines in question are concerned, further study should be instituted and information assembled so as to fill in some of the most serious gaps in the 1951 international inquiry. For this purpose the Draft Programme and Budget for 1955-56 provides for the organization of an inquiry into the present status of the teaching of statistics, demography, public administration and industrial relations in the eight countries originally selected for the international inquiry. The results of the inquiry will supply material for several booklets to be issued in the *Teaching in the Social Sciences* series.

The international inquiry has so far been confined to higher education. But the social sciences should possibly be regarded as part of any general education, in which case they ought to be included in secondary and even primary school curricula. This may at first sight seem an attractive and fully justified measure. Instruction in the social sciences is today provided almost exclusively by the university and thus remains the privilege of a minority; yet it may be asked whether for the smooth working of democracy in the broad sense of the term some basic knowledge of social science should not be supplied to all citizens who periodically have to take decisions on the complex political, economic and social problems facing any human society. The International Political Science Association has been particularly concerned with one point—determination of the part that should be played by political science in the training of citizens. Should not civics, revitalized by scientific methods, be one of the basic subjects taught at secondary schools? The general imparting in this way of notions of social science seems to raise very great difficulties and educationists are showing some reluctance in the matter. However, it would be difficult to deny the majority of future citizens an opportunity of acquiring some objective grasp of social realities, their complexity and their evolution. Furthermore, the inquiry into social science teaching showed that this teaching cannot be profitable at the university level unless pupils receive some preparation for it in their secondary school studies. The Secretariat, in co-operation with the leading international teachers' associations, has accordingly endeavoured in 1954 to give critical consideration to the present position of secondary schools with regard to such teaching. Experiments already attempted must be analysed and an effort is made to assemble information on the basis of which the Secretariat can work out suggestions for teachers.

In addition, it is thought that—following the example set by certain countries, though still on a small scale—encouragement should be given to the inclusion of elementary social science lessons for adults in the programmes of folk high schools, evening courses and courses organized by workers' trade unions. This question would probably be of special interest to countries of northern Europe and the United States of America, for instance, where adult education is already highly developed. The Secretariat will therefore see whether a study of this question could be included in one of the organization's future programmes.

Of the many problems raised by the links between social science and everyday

recruitment by a fairly rigid system of competitive examination on the other a system that relies mainly on the candidate s personal work and his aptitude for scientific research—recruitment on a basis of qualifications Both procedures have their advantages and disadvantages and each is the outcome of a particular cultural tradition The meeting of experts th refo...]
no definite recommendati...
did however discuss a m...
raising especially serious ... ruitment and these will have to be reverted to at regional conferences With regard for instance to the role to be allotted in social science teaching to practising professionals the experts thought that in order to link theory with practice recourse should be had for teaching purposes to specialists exercising some extra university profession provided there was always a sufficiently large permanent staff of teachers to control the policy to be followed and the practising p of... s were employed simply to supplemen...

... the same may be said of ... social science teaching has not yet been extensively developed As the training of teachers is dependent on the stage reached by the social sciences the experts considered that the underdeveloped countries were bound to make arrangements for study abroad They emphasized however that cultural differences between the countries in which study is unde... and those in which teaching is late...

... consider the most appropriate ... s of achieving this aim.

FUTURE EXTENSION OF THE INQUIRY

The international inquiry conducted in 1951 covered the following disciplines sociology social psychology and anthropology economics and econometry law and philosophy of law political science and international relations

For many reasons this list cannot be considered to cover all branches of social science In the first place it is generally recognized that history and geography have many links with the social sciences Secondly some branches of study such as demography criminology public administration and industrial relations the teaching of which is so far not very advanced except in a few countries were disregarded or not dealt with as fully as they would have been had they been surveyed direct Lastly statistics the techniques of which are extensively used by many branches of social science were not given even incidental consideration

Furthermore the international inquiry was concerned exclusively with higher education and it is perhaps time to see whether encouragement should not be given to the teaching of the social sciences and the humanities in secondary or perhaps even primary schools

Attention should also be paid to a number of practical problems raised by the link between the social sciences and everyday activities e g problems connected with openings for employment and careers and the training of national and international civil servants

APPENDIX I

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Ch pral

Internati nal Stud es Confer ce Messrs M A. Y h (Egypt) J J Chevall er (Fran) A. App d ra (India) G Casano a (Mexico) K. E. B rnba m (Sweden) G L. Goodwin (United Ki gd m) H Sp out (U ted States f America) and J Dj djev c (Y goslavia) u E. D mock (U ted States f Amer ca) J a kenzi nd W H H nson (Un ted o) S H I h

I ternati nal E mic Assoc t Messrs R Clémens (Belgium) W Mess ha (Egypt) E J mes (France) F L tg E Preiser (Germany) C N Vakil (Ind) C. Arena (Italy) A. Kozlik (Mexi o) T P l der (Sweden) C. W G ll ba d (United Kingd m) H T ylo (United States of America) and R U al c (Y go- sl)

I tern tional Committee of Comparative Law Mes rs R Clém ns J Dabin (Belgium) K M rsy (Egypt) A. T nc, H Bat ffol H J nne (Fran e) K Zw gert (Germany) S S Nehru (India) Jean Cheval e B Tabbah (Leban) F Del Castill E Trigueros (Mexico) A. M lmst öm I Strahl (Sweden) C. J H ms M Sta dford A J Campbell J L. Montrose H C Gutteridge R. Gra eson (United Kingd m) J N Hazard A. Eh enzwe g (United States f Amer ca) nd B Bl gojev c (Y gosl via)

I ternati nal Soci logical Associ t Messrs S A Hozayen H El Saaty (Egypt) E Morin (Fra) G S Ghurye (I d) L. Mend eta y N ñez (Mexico) S Ossow ki (P l d) E Tegen K. Malst m B G Rundblad S Erixon (Swed n) D G M cRa (United Kingd m) R. Melt er J G Manis S Ray L. Wirth a d E W Voeg lin (U ted States f America)

APPENDIX II INTERDISCIPLINARY MEETING OF THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES—UNESCO 16-19 SEPTEMBER 1952

List f P rticipants

P d B Pr fess of Soci logy Uni ers ty of Lo vain (Belg m)

T Ca alca t Direct of th Nat nal F culty of Economics Un ers ty of Braz l, Ri de Ja eir (Bra il)

T Col P fesso f Pol tical Sc en e Duk Un ers ty Durham (Un ted States f Amer ca)

M Du erger Profess f P l tical Scien Uni ers ty f Bordeaux (Fra ce)

C. Eisenmann, P fessor of Law Uni ers ty of Paris (Fran)

M Ginsberg Pr fess f Sociology Lo d n School f Eco omics and Pol tical Science (United Kingd m)

C. W Guill b d Profess f Eco mics, St J hn College Cambridg (United Kingd m)

J N Haza d P fess f Law Columbia Univers ty New Y k (United States of America)

S H fstra Dir tor of the Inst tut f Social St d es Th H gu (Netherlands)

K. Kelsen P fessor f Law Inst tut des Ha tes Études Internati nales Geneva (Switzerland) d Emeritus P fesso Berk ley Univers ty California (United States f America)

C Lévi Strauss Pr fess f Cultural Anthropology É oles des H utes Études P ris (F n)

C A. W Manning Pr fesso f Internat nal Rel ti ns Lo d n S hool of Economics d P l ti l S en (United Kingd m)

J Meyna d Pr fessor f P litical Eco my F ndat n N t nal des S ences P l tiques P ris (Fra)

H Minami Professor f Soc l Psy h logy Hit tsubashi Uni ers ty T ky (J pan)

O A. Oeser Pr fessor f Soc l Psy h logy Uni ers ty of M lbourne (Australia)

living conditions two seem to merit spe[illegible]

The fir[illegible]
importan[illegible]
to this qu[illegible]
its point if it were strictly[illegible]
Any teaching results in th[illegible] The moot point then is how far the [illegible]elopment of this skill should be pushed in social science teaching The universities would surely be impoverished if th[illegible] eschewed anything describable as profe[illegible]
the more [illegible]
delimitati[illegible] a gateway many such careers ar[illegible] [illegible]ow coming into being

It would accordingly be necessary before assessing the possible impact of the factors on teaching to determine the careers for which the social sciences are at present able to supply qualified specialists In this connexion it is worth pointing out that the international associations have repeatedly stressed the need for an inquiry into the careers open to social scientists and into the type of employment they may find in various sectors of the community The relatively undeveloped countries also wish to know how a knowledge of social science could improve the performance of a number of social functions Many of them especially those where the traditional concentration on law and the humanities has led to unemployment in the liberal professions would like to know how the traditional training should be modified in order to meet new conditions The Draft Programme and Budget for 1955 56 draws the attention of the Unesco National Commissions to the importance of this problem of openings and suggests their undertaking an inquiry into supply and demand in social scientists The Secretariat will naturally make available to these Commissions any information it may be able to assemble on the subject

Another question raised by the links between social science and everyday living conditions is the training of national and international civil servants

In view of the increasingly technical character of State functions and of the efforts made to give the decisions of government departments in the political economic and social fields a fi[illegible]
for [illegible]
The[illegible]
be [illegible] education or in specialized schools and [illegible]at its content should be It has not yet been possible to take up this problem in the organization s current programmes but it might be included in the 1957 58 programme The same applies to the training of international civil servants which has so far been considered only at the national level The development of international organizations however is bound to raise the question of the training of their officials especially if technical assistance is widely extended In particular the training of technical assistance experts raises considerable problems complicated by the fact that the persons who have to receive such training come from different cultural backgrounds have received widely varying education and are often required to take up their duties in countries with very different cultural traditions Many plans for the training of international civil servants have already been put forward but no systematic study of the subject has been undertaken and it is felt that Unesco could usefully investigate the possibilities in consultation with the United Nations and appropriate specialized agencies

APPENDIX I

Internatıonal P lıtıcal Scıenc Assoc atı n Messrs A. El Emary (Egypt) J Chapsal (France) S V Kogeka (India) L. M d ta y N ñez (Mexico) S Fl l h (P l d) E. Hastad (Sweden) W J Ma k nz e and A. H Hanson (Un ted Ki gd m) Marshall E D mock (Un ted States of Americ)

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I ternati nal Committee f Compar t e Law Messrs R Clémens A Janne J Dab n (B lgium) K. M ursy (Egypt) A. Tu H Bat ff l H Mot lsky (F ance) K Zweigert (Germa y) S S Nehru (Ind a) Jean Cheval e B Tabbah (Leba) F Del Castillo E Trigueros (Mexico) A. Malmström, I Strahl (Sweden) C. J H mson, M Standford A J Campbell J L. Montrose H C. G tter dge R Gra eson (United Kingd m) J N H zard A. Eh enzweig (United States of Am rica) nd B Bl g jev c (Y gosl ıa)

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W A D

S ... of the Division of Social Sciences University of Chicago (United States of America)
R Uvalic, Vice Rector and Professor of Political Economy University of Belgrade (Yugoslavia)
L von Wiese Professor of Sociology Uni...
Internation...
Ges (UN)
Universiti ... ilosophy and Humanistic
Stud es)

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNESCO PAMPHLET SERIES ON RACE

G SAENGER

A few years ago the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization published a series of pamphlets ent...
Modern Science Wri...
countries the serie...
in reducing prejud... ...ding authoritative informa tion on the nature of race and racial differences the origins and uses of prejudice

In 195 Unesco set up a small pilot study in the United States in order to test the effectiveness of these pamphlets as teaching aids in American high schools and colleges The aim of the study was to ascertain to what extent exposure to the pamphlets contributed to the existing knowledge of its readers and affected prejudiced attitudes

The execution of the study was entrusted to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues A SPSSI committee appointed for this purpose consisting of Dr Otto Klineberg Dr Dorwin Cartwright and Dr Stuart Cook asked Dr Gerhart Saenger of New York University to act as project director of the study co-sponsored by Unesco and SPSSI

The study was conducted with the assistance of four graduate students working on their M A theses—Martin Bobrowsky Arnold Jaffe Arlene Newman and Leonard Solomon—and 30 volunteers from a class in race relations at New York University

DETERMINANTS OF EFFECT

The eff...

... their message must be ... to the extent that the reader can draw his own conclusions apply

what he has learned the message must be accepted and result in the desired change in attitude

Using a captive audience such as students it may appear at first glance that it would not be possible to obtain information concerning our first variable. Yet college students do not always read all their assignments. We were therefore able to find out whether the less informed and more prejudiced subjects who could benefit most from reading were reached as often as the other students.

Some clarification is also needed concerning the difference between the attainment of new information and understanding. It is possible to acquire new facts in a mechanical way without understanding their implications so as to be able to make deductions. Education sometimes succeeds only in enabling the student to check the correct answer on a true-false question. He fails however in grasping its meaning; is unable to express the idea in his own words.

OBSTACLES TO USE OF PAMPHLETS IN HIGH SCHOOLS

In many communities the United Nations and especially Unesco are considered controversial topics. Most school administrators therefore appear to hesitate to expose their students to Unesco materials.

Interviews with 10 school superintendents in New York and New Jersey communities ranging from a population of 5 000 to a population of 400 000 indicated that this fear goes back to the successful fight of patriotic groups in Los Angeles against the use of a series of Unesco publications explaining the work and philosophy of the organization. In the debate on the use of the pamphlets in California Unesco was accused of alienating the loyalties of the school children from the United States and of advocating world government.

This experience led to apprehensions among school administrators concerning the use in public schools of any Unesco publications regardless of their content. Most administrators spontaneously referred to the California case when asked for permission to conduct a study in their district.

I discussed the topic of the Unesco study with the school executives of R County and it was the consensus of opinion of the members attending the meeting that they would rather not become involved in a study of this type at the present time. They feel that you have a worthy project but due to unfavorable publicity as far as the UN and Unesco is concerned it would be disastrous to conduct a study at this time. (Supervising Principal.)

The impressions gained from discussions with school administrators were enforced by talks with teachers from a fairly large number of communities in the eastern seaboard gathered for an educational conference in New York City.

Metropolitan New York constituted an exception. The Board of Education was willing to co-operate in the project. However civic pressure against the use of any attitude scales dealing with information about or attitudes toward racial or religious groups would have made the study of doubtful value. The board gave permission only for the use of strictly informational items and excluded any questions making reference to specific ethnic groups. Even such a limited study was to be conducted only in selected schools having

T Palander Professor of Economics University of Upsala (Sweden)
W A Robson Professor of Political Science London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom)
S Tax Vice Dean and Professor of the Division of Social Sciences University of Chicago (United States of America)
R Uvalic Vice Rector and Professor of Political Economy University of Belgrade (Yugoslavia)

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNESCO PAMPHLET SERIES ON RACE

G Saenger

A few years ago the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization published a series of pamphlets entitled *The Race Question in Modern Science* Written by some of the leading scientists in the Unesco member countries the series was designed to implement the work of the United Nations in reducing prejudice and discrimination by providing authoritative information on the nature of race and racial differences the origins and uses of prejudice

In 1952 Unesco set up a small pilot study in the United States in order to test the effectiveness of these pamphlets as teaching aids in American high schools and colleges The aim of the study was to ascertain to what extent exposure to the pamphlets contributed to the existing knowledge of its readers and affected prejudiced attitudes

The execution of the study was entrusted to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues A SPSSI committee appointed for this purpose consisting of Dr Otto Klineberg Dr Dorwin Cartwright and Dr Stuart Cook asked Dr Gerhart Saenger of New York University to act as project director of the study co-sponsored by Unesco and SPSSI

The study was conducted with the assistance of four graduate students working on their M A. theses—Martin Bobrowsky Arnold Jaffe Arlene Newman and Leonard Solomon—and 30 volunteers from a class in race relations at New York University

DETERMINANTS OF EFFECT

The effectiveness of the pamphlets can be described in terms of the following conditions the pamphlets must reach their audience they must be comprehensible they must succeed in increasing information their message must be understood to the extent that the reader can draw his own conclusions apply

be read by the third of the nation s adults who have had at least some college education But even the college students often complained about difficulties and the unattractive make up of the pamphlets

THE COLLEGE SAMPLE

Fi e colleges were chosen to test the effectiveness of the pamphlets among college students the School of Educat on of New York University Montclair Teacher s College and Upsala University in New Jersey Kent State Univer s ty Ohio and the University of Wisconsin The cho ce of colleges in the east as well as the middle west was dictated by the desire to have a more repre sentative sample It was expected that the midwestern students would in general be more prejudiced less friendly toward the United Nations and less exposed to p evious intergroup education The study did not bear out our assumption that midwestern students were more prejudiced and had less intergroup education. It was found ho ever that midwesterners were less favourably inclined towa d the United Nat ons than eastern students

In the east, metropol tan NYU had the least prejud ced students followed by Montclair a New Jersey State Teacher s College Upsala a small denomi national liberal arts college had the lowest scholastic standard and the highest amount of prejudice In the midwest Kent S were mo e p ejud ced than those f — s ty With the ex e

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not taking them. — courses are generally may constitute a en from beginning sex

Not all students we e always present during the four class periods required to administe all tests and others failed to heed the written instructions correctly or omitted question the analysis was based on 450 cases. The total sample n all five colleges amounted to 635 cases slightly more liberal than those a small bias in so far

RESEARCH DESIGN

In o der to test the eff ctiveness of exposure to the pamphlets the total popula t on in each college was divided into three groups (1) a control group which took all the tests used to establish effectivenes but did not read the pam phlets (2) an experimental gr up wh ch read the pamphlets but did not dis cuss them and (3) a group which read and discussed the pamphlets prior to taking the tests (om tted n NYU)

The ffectiveness of education may be reduced by the frequently observed tendency of potential audiences to avo d exposu e to deas with which they find themselves in disagreement We also tend to avo d reading materials produced by persons or o ganizations toward whom we ha bour unf iendly attitudes To study the effect of such resistances a test measuring prejud cial attitudes a test measur ng attitudes toward Unesco and the California F scale we given prior to exposure to the reading mate ials

The administration of these tests made it poss ble not only to study the eff ct of resistance on exposu e to the Unesco materials and on the acquisition

exceptionally high scholastic standards and known for good work in intergroup relations Because of all these limitations it was decided not to attempt a study in New York high schools

Not much was lost however because it is fairly safe to predict that the pamphlets would have been ineffectual on the high school level School principals social science teachers and experts in intergroup education stated almost unanimously that the pamphlets were too difficult even for juniors and seniors Two New York principals expressed the belief that only the o per cent of the students with the highest scholastic aptitude would be able to comprehend the pamphlets They criticized specifically the frequent use of difficult words not found in the average vocabulary the too long sentences the lack of concrete examples and of pictures They thought that the appearance of the pamphlets would not create sufficient incentive toward reading would not appeal Several teachers contended that today s high school student will not read books unless they are attractively covered and amply illustrated

Criticism was extended even toward the popular condensation of three pamphlets appearing under the title *What is Race?* One principal known for his work in intergroup education stated that the children would not be able to see the connexion between the exposition of the Mendelian laws taking up the greater part of this pamphlet and racial differences let alone the problem of prejudice and tension in their everyday lives

To obtain some scientific measure concerning the difficulties presented by the pamphlets the Flesch Reading Index was applied to all pamphlets used in the study By measuring sentence and word length one arrives at a score which expresses the amount of education necessary to comprehend a given reading matter and indicates the proportion of persons in the United States who may be able to benefit from it

The analysis indicated that two pamphlets *Race and Culture* and *Racial Myths* can be read successfully only by persons who have completed college or are near completion *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Biology* present no difficulties for the average college sophomore

TABLE 1 Readability of Six Unesco Pamphlets

Score range Flesch d	School grade required for comprehension	Per cent of population able to benefit from reading	Pamphlet score in order of reading difficulty
90-100	5th	93	*Roots of Prejudice* 48
80-90	6th	91	*What is Race* 46
70-80	7th	88	*Race and Biology* 37
60-70	8-9th	83	*Race and Psychology* 34
50-60	10-12th (high school)	54	*Racial Myths* 18
30-50	13 16th (college)	33	*Race and Culture* 16
0-30	Completed colleg	5	

Roots of Prejudice and *What is Race?* the popular version mainly of *Race and Biology* can be comprehended by a majority of those who have completed high school Four of the pamphlets are thus useful in American colleges can

answers and h nce have to guess Th nature of the guesses is presumed to be ind cative of their attitudes The items included questions concerning the proportion of Negroes in the U S A. in 1900 and 1950 the average income figures for various ethn c groups the proportion of Negroes with mental dis ases. It is thou ht that overestimates of the growth of the Negro population or of the incom of Jews is related to prejudice

As in most projective tests of this sort the disgu se is not perfect and it may be poss ble to detect the intent of the questions. To some extent the nature of the guesses will also be related to information. The prejudiced person may know that prejudiced individuals are easily inclined to overrate the income of people they dislike or may in some rare instances even have learned the answers to our questions Hence it appeared important to validate our projective questionnaire

A first approach consisted in keep ng information constant to ascertain whether the relationsh p found between our open prejudice scale and the projective test would disappear In the latter case the projective test would have measured informat on exclus vely rather than attitudes.

TABLE 2 Relationship of P ejud ce Scores Measured by an Open Attitude Test and a P ojective Test of Prejud ce for Informed and Uninformed Readers of the Pamphlet *Roots of P jud*

Pre dice Pr ec ve tes	Prej di pen d es					
	Well informed		Medi m		Uninformed	
	Lo	H h	Lo	High	Low	High
Low	37 /	38 /	34 /	22	33 /	29
Medi m	34	36	33 /	45 /	39 /	29
High	29	2	33	33	28 /	42 /
N	44	47	36	51	20	35

N s nificant d fference n pr jective scores between those who had scored low and thos who sco ed h gh on the init al test occurred among those who we e generally well informed on our subject matter The high prejud c d e en appear to do sl ghtly better than the less p ejudiced They may ha seen th ough the intent of th disguised pr jective test and being well nformed we able to g ve th correct answers S gnificant relat ons how ve existed am ng those who were less well nformed Appa ently this type f p oject ve test wo ks be t among relatively un nformed ndividuals

P esumably the open att tude test is not conclusive because p ejudiced pers ns who live in a ociety wh ch f o vns upon race b as may tend to hide the eal feelings We hould theref not rely solely upon the doubtful undisguised attitud test to validate ou disguised test

Prio res a ch ind cat d a relationsh p between character and ethnic p jud ce The Cal f rnia F scale fo the measurement of the democrat c auth ritarian charact tructure can the efo e be us d to validate the

of new information but was useful also for ascertaining how well matched control and experimental groups were

To study gains in information and understanding all groups were given knowledge and understanding tests after a period of four weeks During this time the experimental groups were asked to read the pamphlets Comparisons between the experimental and control groups established the amount of learning which took place

The Montclair and NYU students were asked to read all five pamphlets in the original Unesco series and given slightly more time for reading Kent and Wisconsin upon request of their instructors were exposed to only three pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture* The Upsala students read *Roots of Prejudice Racial Myths* and the popular version of *Race and Biology* entitled *What is Race?*

To measure the effect of the reading upon prejudiced attitudes a disguised test was employed Research in race relations has shown that students often merely learn to give correct democratic replies to attitude tests rather than experiencing a change of attitude Moreover the before and after method has the disadvantage that we do not know whether a change of scores in an attitude test given after exposure to the educational material is due to the effect of the material or the result of exposure to a previous attitude test. For this reason changes in attitude were measured by comparing the projective attitude test scores of the experimental and the control groups

To measure not only changes in general ethnic attitudes but to obtain information concerning the readers willingness to act upon their attitudes all groups were asked to indicate their willingness to participate in various phases of the Unesco educational programme

TESTS USED

Both the test on Attitudes toward the United Nations and on Attitudes toward Different Racial and Ethnic Groups consisted almost entirely of fixed alternative questions permitting a score range of 18 and 9 points The three different tests used to measure increases in information consisted of true false and multiple choice questions The knowledge tests used to measure the effects of reading the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myth* (with emphasis on the former) as well as the test designed to measure the effects of exposure to *Race and Biology* or *What is Race?* had a total range of 27 score points The test used to measure the effect of *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture* had a total range of 18 points For purposes of comparison the scores were converted to a percentage scale A score of 0 points represents correct answers to all questions or a perfect knowledge score A score of 100 indicates that all questions were answered wrong

Understanding was measured by asking open ended questions related to the pamphlet content While the direct answers were not given in the pamphlets the questions could be answered easily if the factual materials given in the pamphlets were absorbed and understood correctly i e if the reader was able to generalize from his readings

The projective test employed consisted of an adaptation of an information test designed by Donald T Campbell The students are asked to answer apparent information questions to which they are not likely to know the

answers and hence have to guess Th nature of the guesses is presumed to be indicati e of their attitudes. The items included questions concerning the proportion of Negroes in the U S A. in 1900 and 1950 the average income fi ures for various ethnic groups the p opor d s ases It is thou h tion or of th egroes with mental

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	Well informed		Medi m		Uninformed	
	Lo	High	Lo	H h	Low	High
Low	37 /	38	34 /	22	33 /	29
Medium	34	36 /	33 /	45 /	39	29 /
High	29 /	25 /	33 /	33 /	28 /	42
N	44	47	36	51	20	35

No s gn ficant d fference n p jective scores between those who had scored lo and tho wh sco ed high on the initial test occurred among those who w e generally well informed on ou subject matter The high pre jud c d even appea to do l ghtly better than the less prejud ced They may have seen through the ntent of the disguised p oject ve test and be ng v ell nformed we able t g e the correct answers S gnif cant relations how ever existed among th se v ho wer less well informed Appa ently this type f project ve test w ks best am ng elatively uninformed indiv duals

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Prio resea h nd cat d a lat onship between cha acter and ethnic p jud ce The Calif rnia F scal fo the measurement of the democratic auth ritarian character structu can the efo e be used to validate the

projective attitude scale The results indicate a correlation between authoritarianism and a high prejudice score on the projective scale which increases our confidence in using the latter test for the measurement of attitude change Parenthetically there also is the expected correlation between personality as measured by the F scale and attitudes toward the UN

TABLE 3 Relationship between Character and Prejudice

Pr j dice Projecti test	Chara t type				
	Demo-crat		3 Med m		5 A thori t n
Lo v prejud ce	60 /	36 /	35 /	30 /	2
Med um prejud ce	37 /	31 /	31 /	35 /	41
High prejudice	3 /	33 /	34 /	35 /	37 /
No	30	55	77	59	59

D ff ce ignifica t t pc t l L

FACTORS DETERMINING AMOUNT OF READING

How much time did the students actually spend in reading the pamphlets which had been assigned to them? Sixty three per cent of the midv estern students spent more than one hour on each pamphlet as compared to 30 per cent of the eastern subjects We can attribute this difference partially to the fact that the eastern students had more pamphlets to read and partially to greater pressure exerted by the instructors in the midv estern institutions In Kent State University some classroom time v as allotted to the reading of the pamphlets From a practical point of view it does not seem advisable to assign more than three pamphlets per term to even relatively highly motivated groups

Differences in the relative appeal of the pamphlets v ere indicated by the amount of time devoted to the reading of different pamphlets Such differences in appeal v ere particularly marked in our eastern colleges v here the pressure toward reading was more in accord ith the normal effort usually made by college teachers to have students attend to their assignments It could not express itself in the middle v est not only beca use fev er pamphlets were assigned but also because there v as greater insistence on reading *all* three of them

Judging from the amount of time spent in reading *Roots of Prejudice* turned out to be the most popular pamphlet follo ed closely by the booklet *Racial Myths Race and Biology* t irned out to be the least popular pamphlet in spite of the fact that the Uppsala students v ere permitted to read the ill istrated version of *Pace and Biology* appearing in an attractive cover In the tv o instit i

tions where *Roots of Pr judi* as well as *Race and Psychology* was ass gned the former aga n appeared to be sl ghtly more popular

It appears possible that the greater popularity of *Roots of Pr jud ce* is related to the elative unfamiliarity with its topic Students had been exposed f om their high school days to mate ials dealing with the content of Klineberg s pamphlet but not with that of Rose s Judging from comments *Race and B ol gy* was unpopular because it was diff cult to see how its content related to the actuality of race relations in the modern world In attempting to explain differ nces in appeal however we should not overlook the possibility that the eas e readability of *Roots of Prejudice* contributed to its greater popularity

Particularly in the east where the students had more leeway the more prejudiced students tended to read less than the rest of the group But resis tanc to read ng caused by prejudice was by no means uniform. It affected mostly the readin of those pamphlets which had less appeal and as we shall see late operated to minimize ga ns in information and changes in attitude *Ro ts f P ejud* was read as much if not more so by the more prejudiced than by the less prejud ced. Moreover the amount of resistance was limited *Race nd Ps hol gy* was still ead by 53 per cent of the more prejudiced students

TABLE 4 Effect of Prejudice on Reading of Selected Pamphlets by Students in East rn Colleges

Amoun tim spe in reading	*Roots f P ejudice*			*Race nd Psy hology*			*Race nd Biolog*		
	Lo prej	Med. prej	High prej	Lo prej	Med. prej	High prej	Low prej	Med. pr j	High prej
No	2	3	3	23	59	47	4	50	54
Less tha h ur	43	42	3	3	23	4	26	28	36
M tha 1 h ur	35	28	4	46	18	12	34	22	10

The attitude toward the United Nations also influenced the amount of reading With th exception of the most prejudiced eastern students however a less positive attitude toward the United Nations appeared to make the students mo e eage to ad the pamphlets issued by the o ganization. They may have been mo urious to find out what Unesco had to say in the light of the h st le p opaganda t wh ch the organization was subjected We may suspect also that those les favourable toward UN may easily have approached the pamphl ts in a more sceptical f ame f mind were less likely to learn from eadin

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	D mo-crat		3 Medi m	4	5 A thori t
Low prejud ce	60 %	36 %	35 %	30 %	22 %
Medium prejudice	37 %	31 %	31 %	35 %	41 %
H gh prejudice	3 %	33 %	34 %	35 %	37 %
No	30	55	77	59	59

D ff ignifica t t pe t l L

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improvement in information both in the east and middle west The change was more pronounced in the east, although as we saw earlier the former did less reading Perhaps the smaller improvement in the middle west is the result of greater resistance to learning caused by more negative feelings toward UN and greater insistence on reading A slight improvement resulted from reading the pamphlet *Race and Biology* while exposure to the pamphlet *Race and Psychology* did not lead to any improvement

TABLE 6 Gains in Information Resulting from Reading

Percent of questions answered correctly	Roots of Prejudice & Racial Myth				Race and Psychology & Race and Culture			
	East		Middle west		East		Middle west	
	Not read	Read	Not read	Read	Not read	Read	Not read	Read
Informed 81-100		3	4	6	30	36	44	38
61-80	16	44	24	25	62	49	52	60
41-60	52	40	35	58	8	9	4	2
21-40	28	10	3	10	—	2	—	—
Uninformed 1-20	4	3	2	1	—	4	—	—

The above analysis is based on a comparison of those not assigned with those asked to read the pamphlets It is indicative of changes in the group as a whole not a direct measure of different amounts of reading To evaluate the effect of different amounts of reading we had to correlate the time spent reading with the amount of information the students had

The reader may recall that particularly in the east refusal to read may be caused by resistance resulting from prejudice Our expectation that the non reader in the experimental group would have a lower score than the unselected non reader in the control group representing a cross section of the study population, was borne out by our results

Particularly in the middle west however those who read extensively knew less than those who had done only some reading Again this may perhaps be explained in terms of our previous finding that those least friendly toward the United Nations were inclined to read more They may have read more in order to find fault with the publication approached the pamphlets with an attitude not conducive to the acquisition of information

Discussion of the pamphlets was in general slightly more effective than mere reading and particularly so for the pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice*

In view of the Unesco objective to contribute to information as well as to combat prejudiced attitudes we asked ourselves whether increases in information may by themselves lead to favourable changes in attitude The data indicate that our relatively unprejudiced students know substantially more about the causes of prejudice than our more prejudiced students and appear also slightly better informed about the nature of racial differences

TABLE 5. Students Spending more than One Hour in Reading the Pamphlets by Prejudice and by Attitude toward the United Nations

Attitudes	Eastern students			Midwest students		
	Roots	Psych.	C. B.	Roots	Psych.	C. B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Low prejudice	36	41	32	60	57	79
Pro UN	35	46	23	46	46	46
Anti UN	43	54	40	65	60	47
High prejudice	33	17	18	63	55	74
Pro UN	35	21	15	36	36	64
Anti UN	12	0	10	75	62	77

The tendency of those less favourable toward UN to spend more time in reading is of decided value. It provides Unesco with the opportunity to win followers. This is precisely what happened. We were able to administer the test on attitudes toward the United Nations twice in Kent, once before and once after exposure to the pamphlets. The results indicated a more favourable attitude toward UN after the students had read the pamphlets. This result is the more gratifying as Kent is the college which was least friendly toward UN, and the institution exerting greatest pressure on reading, which might well have led to an increase in resistance. However, it remained to be seen to what extent initially negative attitudes toward UN lead to resistance and affect the benefit derived from reading the Unesco pamphlets.

IMPROVEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

Before we can answer this question we must realize that marked improvements in knowledge concerning the subject matter of the pamphlets can be accomplished only in areas where considerable initial ignorance is found. *Race and Psychology* could be expected to be relatively ineffectual because the students tested were already well informed on the subject matter discussed in that pamphlet. As a result of the highly effective work by Klineberg and other workers in the field, the average college student is by now thoroughly familiar with the fact that difference in I.Q. between Negroes and whites are not likely to represent differences in native intelligence, but can be attributed to educational and social handicaps. (Parenthetically, the students did not seem to be equally well informed about the fact that the higher I.Q. of Jewish students is also not caused by differences in native intelligence.) At least one third of all students who had not read this pamphlet answered 80 per cent or more of all questions correctly. Nineteen out of twenty answered more than 60 per cent of all questions right.

In contrast, only one out of five students not exposed to the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* was able to answer correctly more than 60 per cent of all questions based on these pamphlets.

Exposure to the pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice* led to a considerable

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61-80	16	44	24	25	62	49	52	60
41-60	52	40	35	58	8	9	4	2
21-40	28	10	35	10	—	2	—	—
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Anti UN	43	54	40	65	60	47
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they labour under discrimination, work under unfavourable conditions and suffer from inadequate education. They had learned that prejudice is a form of scapegoating which protects the ego of the prejudiced who projects his own undesirable characteristics upon the minority. They gained insight into the manner in which prejudice serves as a crutch for the prejudiced ego, gives him a false feeling of superiority and stifles his ambition. They saw how prejudice prevents the majority member from solving his own problems because he attributes his own failure to others.

While we noted that *Race and Psychology* did little to improve knowledge it nevertheless helped to a moderate extent to create a better understanding of the reasons for the differences between racial and ethnic groups. This was particularly so in the middle west where the students reading the pamphlets had begun to understand that the high Jewish I.Q. resulted from the group's traditional emphasis on intellectual pursuits and constituted an attempt to compensate for the handicap of discrimination.

While some discussion groups did slightly better than classes which only read the pamphlets, much appeared to depend upon the ability of the teacher to direct the discussion, pointing to the need of adding a discussion guide to accompany the series. Altogether, however, the effect of the pamphlets on understanding was not as marked and clear cut as the improvement achieved in the answers to the factual information questions.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

To what extent, if any, did the gain in information and understanding lead to a change of attitude? Comparing the students who were asked to read the pamphlets with those not assigned them, we find a small though statistically noticeable change.

Because our midwestern control group was initially slightly more prejudiced than those midwesterners who were exposed to the pamphlets, we decided to compare separately all subjects who had a high initial prejudice. In this manner we were able to eliminate the error introduced by inadequate matching. We then find that the changes registered for the total sample represents

TABLE 8. Changes in Attitudes as a Result of Exposure to the Unesco Pamphlets as Measured in the Projective Test

Projective scores (after test)	Total sample: Control	Total sample: Experimental	High prejudice initial data: Control	High prejudice initial data: Experimental
Low prejudice	9	35 /	21 /	34 /
Medium prejudice	35 /	34 /	4	34 /
High prejudice	36 /	3 /	39 /	32 /
N	62	220	37	122

Difference significant at [illegible] per cent level.

TABLE 7 Information by Prejudice

Percent of questions answered correctly	Information			
	Causes of prejudice (Roots of Prejudice)		Racial differences (Race and Psychology)	
	Low prejud	High prejud	Low prejud	High prejudice
	/	/	/	/
Informed				
81 100	6	0	42	30
61 80	28	17	48	67
41 60	45	38	10	3
21 40	21	40	—	—
Uninformed				
1 0	—	5	—	—

This relation between high prejudice and low information however may be interpreted in different ways An increase in information concerning the causes of prejudice and the nature of racial differences may lead to a decrease of prejudice On the other hand it is also possible that the less prejudiced students tend to expose themselves more to information concerning these subjects They also may approach readings providing new information more with an open mind may be more willing to accept the message than more prejudiced individuals

It is most likely that both statements are correct To the extent that there are individuals who do not have personal (quasi neurotic) needs to maintain their prejudice or are not exposed to very strong pressure toward the maintenance of prejudice to that extent can information help to reduce prejudiced attitudes

UNDERSTANDING

There is evidence that the pamphlets not only contributed to information but were able to deepen the students understanding of the causes of apparent differences between racial groups Among others the readers of the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* were asked How do you explain that Negroes are found to be often less productive and ambitious than whites? How does prejudice benefit the majority member? Why is prejudice psychologically harmful to the prejudiced individual?

These questions were asked not only to probe the depth of their understanding but also because we thought that the ability to understand these issues correctly would provide them with an incentive to more enlightened action It was therefore encouraging to find that those exposed to the pamphlets were more often able to give an answer and gave a correct answer more often

Particularly in the most prejudiced college the readers of the Unesco booklets had begun to understand that Negroes are less ambitious because

they labour under discrimination, work under unfavourable conditions and suffer from inadequate education. They had learned that prejudice is a form of scapegoating which protects the ego of the prejudiced who projects his own undesirable characteristics upon the minority They gained insight into th manner in which prejudice serves as a crutch for the prejudiced ego gives him a false feeling of superiority and stifles his ambition. They saw how prejudice prevents the majority member from solving his own problems because he attributes his own failure to others

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While some discussion groups did slightly bette ... read the pamphlets much ... to direct the discussio ... accompany the series ... understanding was not ... and clear cut as the ... the pamphlets on in the answers to the factual information questions

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TABLE 8 Changes in Attitudes as a Result of Exposure to the Unesco Pamphlets as Measured n the Projective Test

Pro ec ve scores (fter tes)	T tal sampl		High pr judice on ini ial ud tes	
	Control	E perimen al	Con rol	E perimental
Low prejudi	29	35	21 /	34 /
Medium pr j di	3 /	34 /	40	34 /
High prej di	36 /	31 /	39	32 /
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Difference gnifican 5 per cen level.

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Per cent of questions answered correctly	Information			
	Causes of prejudice (*Roots of Prejudice*)		Racial differences (*Race and Psychology*)	
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	%		%	
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81 100	6	0	42	30
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TABLE 8 Chan es n Attitudes as a Result of Exposure to the Unesco Pamphlets as Measured n the P ojective Test

Pr ec scores (after ent)	T tal sampl		High prejudice on initial tu de tes	
	Co trol	E perimen al	Control	E perimental
Low p j di e	29 /	35 /	21	34 /
Medium pr judi	35	34	40	34
High p j di	36 /	31 /	39 /	32
N	62	220	37	122
Difference gnifican per cen level.				

an underestimate. Our projective test indicates a significant shift in the direction of a reduction of prejudice particularly in the originally more prejudiced group.

The earlier discussion on the validity of the projective information test indicates that the test is more likely to be valid for the more prejudiced individuals. These subjects are usually less well informed and hence less likely to guess the correct answer on our test. Moreover, we are actually more certain about the initial attitudes of those scoring high in the initial attitude test. This group consists of persons who are more prejudiced and willing to admit their biases. Individuals who score low on the original test may either be genuinely less prejudiced, or more highly prejudiced but unwilling to admit it and perhaps even unaware of their own prejudice.

While changes in information were smaller in the middle west than in the east, we nevertheless find that even the midwestern group experienced a reduction of prejudice after reading the pamphlets. Although the change in the direction of more positive attitudes is twice as great in the east as in the middle west, it is gratifying to note that a change occurred in spite of the strong resistance of the more prejudiced western readers.

Deeply ingrained attitudes are generally hardly changed by a single exposure to a series of educational pamphlets. Moreover, there is some residual doubt as to the accuracy with which our projective test measures change. For these reasons we had supplemented the projective scale with a questionnaire indicating the student's willingness to participate in the Unesco educational effort. It is more reasonable to expect specific changes relating to the expressed willingness to support a given programme than general changes.

Moreover, if the willingness to support the Unesco programme expressed by the students had been acted upon, larger changes might have resulted not only because the participants would have been occupied with the race problem for a longer time but also because larger numbers of people could have been reached. Finally, this type of scale measuring the action or motivational component of attitudes is often considered as more significant than scales aiming at expressions of feeling and the cognitive component of attitudes.

TABLE 9. Effect of Exposure to Pamphlets on Willingness to Co-operate in the Unesco Educational Programme

Willing to:	East		Middle west			
	Total		Total		High prejudiced	
	Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control	Experimental
Vote for pamphlets	37%	77%	64%	81%	69%	65
Join committee	24	51%	50%	41%	50	34
Lead discussions	9	35%	44%	34	42	24
Give money	26%	58%	48	65	54%	46
Help research	33%	64%	54%	67	50	64
No.	46	138	50	106	26	41

Exposure to the pamphlets considerably increased the student's willingness to aid in the Unesco intergroup relations programme. For example 37 per cent of the students in the control group were willing to give money to help the Unesco educational programme compared to 61 per cent of those in classes asked to read the pamphlets. The proportion of students willing to give time to work on the research programme increased by 20 per cent; the percentage of those who were willing to support a move persuading the college to make the pamphlets required reading in introductory social science courses by 8 per cent.

The smallest change occurred in regard to the students' willingness to act as discussion leaders for high school or college groups designed to improve race relations. Differences in personality may furnish an explanation. Many students may not feel equipped to lead discussions; may be afraid to be in the limelight.

The change again was greater among the less prejudiced students and more pronounced in the east than in the middle west. The highly prejudiced midwestern students exposed to the pamphlets were decidedly less willing to help in the programme than those not exposed to the Unesco material. They were however willing to aid in the research programme, perhaps in order to find out what is wrong with the programme. The reversal of the trend among the more highly prejudiced midwestern students becomes understandable if we recall that this group also contained the largest number of students having a less positive attitude toward the United Nations. In contrast we find in the east both among the low prejudice and the high prejudice group a greater willingness to support the programme resulting from exposure to the pamphlets.

One may expect that the effect of the pamphlets on our midwestern sample would have been more favorable if less pressure had been employed to make them read the material and perhaps if the introductions to the study had been done by persons more familiar with the work of Unesco and more in sympathy with the project. The more widespread resistance of the midwestern readers diminished the effectiveness of the booklets compared with our eastern sample. On the other hand it is important to remark in conclusion that even here apart from a reduction in prejudice the exposure to the pamphlets and the study had made students more familiar with the work of Unesco and created more favourable attitudes toward the organization.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Educational publications can be effective only if they reach their audience. It would have been of interest for Unesco to know how many and what type of students in terms of social and ethnic background, racial attitudes and attitudes toward UN would have read the pamphlets if they were deposited in college libraries but not assigned as required reading.

In view of the results of the high school study indicating widespread resistance toward the use of Unesco materials it would be desirable to ascertain from a cross-section of school and college administrators how many are now or would be willing in the future to make use of Unesco material generally and the pamphlet series on race more specifically. At the same time one could also study how many administrators are familiar with the series. Providing

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them with copies of the pamphlet one may also find out to what extent these pamphlets meet their needs appear to them as useful either for classroom assignments or as reference material for teachers To the extent that the pamphlets are designed as reference material for teachers and other inter group relations leaders a parallel study of audience reactions of a small cross section of influential leaders in different countries determining their needs and the extent to which the pamphlets meet their needs would be valuable

Today s college students represent a highly selected audience in so far as they have had a greater amount of education in race relations and about race differences and have been exposed more recently The effect of the pamphlets may therefore be expected to be greater among an older adult public capable of comprehending the material but not equally saturated with education in the field of intergroup relations thus being unfamiliar with much material known to the students

On the other hand the students living in the more liberal atmosphere of the college are under less pressure to maintain and express traditional prejudices Hence there may well be more resistance to change outside the college It may be of value therefore to study the impact of the pamphlets on adult groups of different educational backgrounds living in more or less prejudiced areas of the country

Of even greater interest would be a repetition of this study outside the United States and not only because there is reason to believe that students in other countries are less familiar with materials presented in the Unesco series than American students There is considerable evidence that exposure to mere factual information concerning racial differences has little effect on improving prejudiced attitudes in the United States (It is not yet known however to what extent information concerning the causes of prejudice and the harm it does to the prejudiced individual would change attitudes) Not only are there psychological reasons for the maintenance of prejudiced attitudes but social pressures in a highly discriminatory society often prevent substantial changes in opinions and behaviour

We do not yet know whether prejudice is used in other countries to the same extent in order to bolster up a weak ego We do not know whether we would find abroad the same correlation between authoritarian character structure and prejudice To the extent that these correlations may be absent or weaker to that extent would education against prejudice have a greater chance in other countries

Europeans experience less social pressure toward the maintenance of racial prejudices Most European countries have none or only numerically small racial minorities There may be a greater tendency to release repressed hostility in other directions toward other classes of one s own society or toward other r ons For these reasons alone education through the dissemination of ... expected to be more successful There is reason to believe ... d in the pamphlets According ... for example ... information ... int from an ... influencing

is u ... concerning racial u ... internal domestic point of view it would be ... public opinion in regard to international relations.

THE FOUNDATION FOR CULTURAL CO OPERATION

Vottastraat 41 Amsterdam

The F undati f Cultural Co-operati (St chting voo Culturele Samenwerking Stucusa) V ttastraat 4 Amsterdam was established in 1948 f th p rpose of imp oving cultural lati ns between the Netherla ds a d ts former col n al t rrit ries—I d esia Surinam d the Netherlands Antilles The foundati n ee es a bs dy from th N therlands Government, b t is complet ly free nd independent in carrying ut its w k

On aspect of ts wo k is t encourage—a d if necessary to g nize—the exchang f pers ns nd cultural ommodit es It als encourages interest in Western cultur especially the var us aspe ts f Dutch culture in the abo e-me tioned cou tries a d t th m tim interest in d knowledge f the cultural manifestations f the N therlands and t m exte t, lsewh Stucusa has ts central off ces in Amsterdam, w th epresentati es in Jakarta Macassa and P ramaribo and t co-operates with ther cultural institutions in Ind es a Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles

Th t ties f the f und tion a s pervised by an execut e boa d composed of six members in cordan w th prin ples laid down by ts fou dation c uncil wh ch has 22 members nd d termines general pol cy Administrat n is in the hands of th dir to f th f und t n.

Th P m t f cultur l r lat ons between a country of p nounced Western European cha ter d la ds erseas havi g multiform cultures brings with t f ours a y number f difficulties This kind f w k is new a d leads to the invest gati f fi lds whi h wer only h rt time go still unexplo ed The rga iz g f cultural l ti ns b tween peopl is fter ll a cern of ur age f t hnology wh ch whil t minimizes distances a d increases a th us nd f ld th poss bil t es f c ntact has till t esol ed th q esti f what is al t ry nd what detrimental in uch conta t.

St cusa is t specifically a es ch instit t but t does som times ond ct esea h when that erves ts purpos nd willingly lends ts pport to th esearch f others in ts fields of ctivity In rder t maintain good cultural elations t is necessary t kn w what on has t ffer d ev n mo what are the n eds of the part er viewed in their ocial text.

Stucusa has theref pons ed ppo ted various esea h p j cts in Surinam so as t becom better quainted with th cultur l and oc l *m lieux* f th various thni gro ps in th t plural oc ety Th p jects ha e mprised st d es of the linguistic pr blems in Surinam by Pr fess W G Hellinga of th Uni ers ty f Amsterdam a d P fess Willem Pee f th Uni ers ty f Liège f the Creole group by Professor R A J va Lier f th Uni ers ty f Le d n, of th Indo esian group by Dr J I mael f Jakarta nd f the Hi dustani by Dr C. J M. d Klerk, C. ss R. a d A. H N Verwey LL.M f Le den

As ga ds th Netherl ds Antilles Stucusa has gi en grant t Dr G J Kruijer f the U ers ty f Amsterdam f a oci logical d geograph cal investig ti n f a dev l pm t pl n f th Windward I la ds whil suppo t f an ther ociological resear h p ject in th Antilles is being ns de ed.

A art th results f this pro ect were reported to U esco b Pro essor H lling in phle *E ucation S na (D tch Guiana) nd the L ss S uation* In th mimeographed See his historical introd *S menlen g een grens* bied (Soci m Borde Land) Th Hagu 9. Dr sm mimeogra hed epo in th D tch langu is ail ble Stucusa.

See his *situs en ritueel na het orthodoxe H ndoeïsme Sur name* (Th Cul and Ri al f Orthod Hinduism in Surinam) Amsterdam (Disserta n, Uni ersi y f Le den) and *D m gratie der H ndostanen in urinams* (The mmigration f Hindustani in Surinam) Am terdam 53.

report is as ye ailable.

See *R ht ern voor de economische en social ontwikkel der Bovenwindse eilanden* (Guiding Principles for the Economic and Social De elopmen of the Dutch Wind ard Islands) volum II, Amsterdam 9 3 volum I (Descr Sectio) is in th press.

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concerning racial differences in Europe would be less important from an internal domestic point of view it would be valuable as a factor influencing public opinion in regard to international relations.

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A art f th results of this pro ct were reported to Unesco b Professo Helling in la th mimeographed p ble *Education S nam (Dutch G iana)* nd th *Ls ist S uation*

See his historical introd tio *S menlevn een grens bied* (Soc in Bo der Land) Th H gue 949.

Dr Isma mimeogra hed eport in th D tch langu g is ail bla Sticusa.

See his *Cultus en ritueel va het orthodoxe H ndoeisme S ri* (Th Col and Ri ual f Orthodo Hinduism in Surinam) Amsterdam (Disserta on, Uni ersity f Le den) 95 d D *g alse der H ndostanen in Suriname* (The Immigration f Hindustani in Surinam) Ams erdam 53

A report is ye ailable.

See *R ht nen voor de econom sche en sociale ontwikkel der Bovenwinds eilanden* (Guiding Prin ples f th Economic and Social Developmen of th Dutch Wind ard Islands) volum II Amsterdam 3 volum I (Descriptiv Section) is in th press.

Owing to the present circumstances in Indonesia it has proved in practice quite difficult to undertake any new research projects there [1]

THE RESEARCH CENTER IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The centre was established in the autumn of 1951 Its main function is to serve as a clearing house of ideas in an area of the social sciences contribut ons to which are made by many specialists who often have no or l ttle d rect contact with each other With this objective in mind the centre publishes under the ed torsh p of Mr R R Wohl a journal *Econom c Development and Cultural Chan e* which appears five times a year a d which is distributed to social scientists in different fields of specialization in many countries both advanced and underdeveloped The cent e [illegible]

[illegible] Development and Cultural Change

In addition to these co-ordinat ng and co-operative activities which br ng it into contact with persons and inst tut ons outside the Univers ty of Chicago the cent e carries on a series of research projects of its o vn One project under the general d rection of Mr B F Hosel tz deals with the attempt to evaluate and compare theories of [illegible] nge with a view to obtaining mo e unified [illegible] opositions in this field Another project [illegible] rned with the study of mobilization and [illegible] prim tive population to industr al labour [illegible] This project invol es comparative stud es of factor es located in several under developed countries includ ng a careful stud of the composition forms of recru t ment habits of work income and consumption patterns and other features of the l bour force A third project under the general d rection of Mr R I C [illegible]

[illegible] developed count ies in th s connexion several reports of the World Bank the Colombo Plan and the five year plan of the Go ernment of Ind a have been critically exam ned In addit on to these stud es which are n progress several other stud es are projected e g one on the relations bet een differential land-ownersh p systems and the process of econom c development in selected lesser developed reg ons under the d ection of Mr N S G nsburg another on the labour problem in Mexico under the d rection of Mr S Rottenberg and a project on the development of a managerial class and labour management relat ons in Egypt under the d rect on of Mr F H Harbison

The publicat on of all the stud es currently in progress is contemplated They w ll

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[1] Th thirty-second iss f th Sti sa periodical *Cultur el Nieuws Indonesia* 953 (C l ral News) con ains lis f more than 600 book d rticles published si ce 94 in Dutch, English, Fre ch d German concerning cult ral, social, economi and poli ical pec f Indonesia.

appear either as eparate monographs o as articles Some of the more important will be p bl hed in th esearch centre journal either as rt les or th form of special numbers Th rates f subs ripti f this period cal a e $2 50 fo schol rs and students and $4 fo l bra es and instituti ns.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Th Department of Soci logy under the F culty f P l t cal Sc ce offers a programm of courses leading t th degrees f master f arts a d doctor of philosophy A of tra n g in research methods soc al theory a d tatist cs is eq red of ll candidates Th emainder f ea h tudent ourses may be lected f om fi lds of tudy meeting his p rticula interests.

It is the j dgment f th depa tment th t with th p esent-day complex ty of oci logy t is t feas bl f graduate department to teach all the subd is ns of th field. Conseq ently th curriculum focusses o everal selected reas of sociology whi h the peculiarities of its members (g demography methodology pol t cal soci logy p bl opini n and mass comm nicati ns social theory) d omits other trad ti nal oci logical s bjects (e.g crimi logy d l nquency industrial soci logy) Graduat ourses the sel cted pecial t es g en by Professors Edmu d d S Brunner William C. Casey Kingsley Davis William J Goode Herbert H. Hyman, P ul F Lazarsf ld Seymour M Lipset, R bert S Lynd R bert K Mert n, C. W ght Mills and Lee M. Wiggins

By a d l rg thus p ogramm of nstructi is clos ly l nked with that of resea ch both through egula graduat eminars nd thro gh the work of th esea ch arm of the dep rtment—th Burea f Appl ed Social Resear h f wh h Dr Charles Y Glock is dir ct The burea tilizes th serv es f members of the tea h ng taff nd maintains esear h taff f ts wn. At p esent th bureau is engaged in resea ch n tix maj fi lds mm cat ns m thod logy occup t ons and p fess ons pol t cal behaviour ligion, d b zat on. (A list f p bl cat ons of th bureau is a labl eq est)

At least thr f th current p jects f th bureau bea d ectly upon the problems f ec mi m tivat and cultural p ttern in technological hange with peci l eferen t underdev l ped eas Thes e tudies n w ld l teracy w ld urba iza ti d mass mmunicat ns in th Middl East

Th p ject wo ld l teracy d ill teracy is o cerned with the problem of social d e omi dev l pment in the w ld s underdev loped o ntries Literacy d hool nr lm nt re used as a index f ed cat al p ogres in th d fferent c unt es nd colonies f the world d an nalysis is t be mad of the maj f ctors governing this dev l pment. Special ttenti is gi en to thos areas o o tries that behind ahead in educat nal dev l pm nt as mp ed w th th dev lopment n ther p rts f th economi d ocial tructur in order t illuminat th ol f educati n n th social d ec n m transf mati n of underdev l ped nati ns Th esea ch is be g onducted under th dir ti f Pr fess Ki gsley Davis d Dr H lda Hert Results will b p blished in m ogr ph about 955

Drs. David nd Hertz ls g ged in esea h th p ttern of w ld urb iza t on nd th causes b hind th urb ti p ocess This st dy pays pec l attent on to urbanizat n in u derdev l ped ountries nalys ng f t rs leadi g t th growth of l rg cities in untries wh h ar low in ndustrial dev lopment. Attent on is also

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THE RESEARCH CENTER IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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In ad [illegible] contact [illegible] carries o [illegible] of Mr B F [illegible] economic deve [illegible] a view to obtaining more unified and generally [illegible] theoretical propositions in this field Another project also directed by Mr Hoselitz is conce ned with the study of mobilizat on and ultimate self-commitment of a peasant or prim tive population to industrial labour This project involves comparat ve stud es of factor es [illegible] developed count es includ [illegible]

[illegible] social policy in economic development [illegible] and unde developed count es n this connexion several eports of the World Bank the Colombo Plan and the f e year plan of the Government of India have been cr tically examined In add t on to these stud es which are in progress several other studies a e projected e g one on the relations betw een d ffe ential land ownership systems and th process of economic development in selected lesser developed regions under the d rect on of Mr N S Ginsburg another on the labour problem in Mex co under the d rection of M S Rottenberg and a project on the development of a managerial class and labour management relat ons in Egypt under the direction of M F H Ha bison

The publication of all the stud es currently in progress is contemplated They will

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appear either as separate monographs or as articles. Some of the more important will be published in the research centre's journal either as articles or in the form of special numbers. The rates of subscription for this periodical are $2.50 for scholars and students and $4 for libraries and institutions.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Department of Sociology under the Faculty of Political Science offers a programme of courses leading to the degrees of master of arts and doctor of philosophy. A core of training in research methods, social theory and statistics is required of all candidates. The remainder of each student's courses may be selected from fields of study meeting his particular interests.

It is the judgment of the department that, with the present-day complexity of sociology, it is not feasible for a graduate department to teach all the subdivisions of the field. Consequently the curriculum focusses on several selected areas of sociology which are the specialties of its members (e.g. demography, methodology, political sociology, public opinion and mass communications, social theory) and omits other traditional sociological subjects (e.g. criminology, delinquency, industrial sociology). Graduate courses in the selected specialties are given by Professors Edmund de S. Brunner, William C. Casey, Kingsley Davis, William J. Goode, Herbert H. Hyman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Seymour M. Lipset, Robert S. Lynd, Robert K. Merton, C. Wright Mills and Lee M. Wiggins.

By and large, this programme of instruction is closely linked with that of research, both through regular graduate seminars and through the work of the research arm of the department—the Bureau of Applied Social Research, of which Dr Charles Y. Glock is director. The bureau utilizes the services of members of the teaching staff and maintains a research staff of its own. At present the bureau is engaged in research in six major fields: ... communications, methodology, occupations and professions, political behaviour, religion, and urbanization. (A list of publications of the bureau is available on request.)

At least three of the current projects of the bureau bear directly upon the problems of economic motivation and cultural patterns, technological change with reference to underdeveloped areas. These are studies in world literacy, world urbanization, and mass communications in the Middle East.

The project on world literacy and illiteracy is concerned with the problem of social and economic development. The world literacy would use school enrolment, used as an index of educational progress, and the problem of social ... lines of the world underdeveloped countries. Literacy and urbanization ... thus development. Special attention is given to those of the major factors governing the ... of the different countries ... head in educational development as compared with those areas or countries that lag behind ... of the economic and social structure in order to illuminate the development of other parts ... conducted under the direction of Professor Kingsley Davis and Dr Hilda Hertz. Results will be published in the ... a monograph about 1955 ...

Drs David ... and Hertz ... engaged in research in the pattern of world urbanization ... and the causes behind the urbanization process. This study pays special attention to urbanization in underdeveloped countries, analysing factors leading to the growth of large cities in countries which are low in industrial development. Attention is also

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The series of public lectures dealt with the following subjects: immigration and cross-cultural influences; the idea of solidarity and the teaching of history; the anthropo-geographical problems of Colombia and the rural school; regional bases for rural education in Colombia; the influence of climate in the life of the Colombian people; food resources of Colombia; the civilization of the mountain slopes and the colonization of the plain; Colombian life under the colonial regime in the sixteenth century; the sociology of revolutions. Closing of the session.

The work of the seminar began with a study of the basis of change in the rural school and continued with important statements about climatic zones and rural education, the feeding of country children, etc., and will continue with the submission of new works in course of preparation.

This series of lectures took place during the months of September and October only and was accompanied by exhibitions of outstanding interest which drew large audiences every week to the hall of honour of the National Library.

The work in both fields of activity is organized by the secretariat of the institute and its publication in book form will be a contribution of inestimable value to members of parliament, legislators, teachers and publicists. Thus publication will also be the best message Colombian sociology could possibly send to other countries of the South American continent, through the channel of the scientific associations.

The Colombian Institute of Sociology has also received invitations to send representatives to international scientific congresses such as the Inter-American Sociological Congress which met in August in La Paz (Bolivia) and the Second Latin American Sociological Congress held last year in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) at which the Colombian institute was presented with the medal of honour (*medalla de honor*)—the highest distinction for scientific investigation.

At present the Colombian Institute of Sociology is making preparations for a national congress on sociology to be held in Bogotá and to which will be invited in addition to the members of the institute all teachers of sociology in the various universities of Colombia and the leading scholars and publicists in the field of the social sciences.

THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Institute of Public Administration is a non-political organization founded in 1922 and was instituted as a trust. Its objects are to develop the study of public administration and to facilitate the exchange of information on all aspects of the subject.

The President of the Institute is Viscount Waverley of Westdean, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., who was formerly Sir John Anderson. The management of the Institute's affairs is in the hands of an executive council elected by the members and consisting of eminent officials from the civil service, local government and the publicly owned industries and of university teachers. The chairman of 1953-54 is Mr D. N. Chester, C.B.E., Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, and the vice-chairman is Mrs D. C. L. Johnstone, Assistant Secretary, H.M. Treasury. The Institute's research activities are directed by its research committee, a standing committee of the executive council. The chairman of this committee is Mr R. W. Bell. The Institute employs a full-time staff working under the director, Mr Raymond Nottage.

Individual membership is open to any person employed or formerly employed in the public services, or in the teaching or study of public administration or related subjects. Corporate membership is available to public authorities. Among the Institute's corporate members are the United Kingdom Central Government, the Government

given to the study of technological changes This research is shortly to be published as a book

The third major project of the bureau which bears on underdeveloped ... recent research on mass communications and ... purpose of this research ... tions behaviour in a ... gy in terms of which the differential roles ... mass media among various segments of the population will be described and analysed The project is under the direction of Mr Paul L Berkman of the bureau and Dr Daniel Lerner and Mrs Lucille Pevsner of the Center for International Studies Massachusetts Institute of Technology Results are to be published in a book early in 1955

In addition to these three projects on selected aspects of economic and social development members of the department are currently engaged in other researches notably in methodology occupations and professions and political sociology

THE COLOMBIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY

Calle 74 No 11 89 Bogotá

The Colombian Institute of Sociology was founded at the end of 1950 by Professor Rafael Bernal Jiménez under the auspices of the Ministry of National Education following the agreement reached by Latin American delegates at the International Congress of Sociology which met at Zurich during the same ... study centres should be set up in th ... ing Am ...

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THE INSTITUTE FOR THE COMPARISON AND RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE VARIOUS BODIES OF EUROPEAN LAW

F culty of Law and Econ mic Scien es Saar Univers ty Saarbrucken

A univers ty institute for th mparison and rapprochement f th various bodies of European Law has been et p in c nnexion with th Saar Uni ers ty F culty of Law and Eco mi Sciences

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The institute has regional groups in the United Kingdom and Australia It is also the British National Section of the International Institute of Adm

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Durir has developed its research programme and has initiated a series of major research studies carried out by study groups each assisted by a full time research worker The first two of these studies are on changes in the structure of executive government since 1914 and alternative sources of local revenue The reports will be published in due course

A series of books on Government departments is in preparation

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Recent publi ave included *Introduction t French Local Government* (by Brian Chapman) and *Staff R po ting* (by E Anstey and Isabel Menz es) and symposia on *Financial Cont ol Its Place in Mana ement Large Scale Orga* *since 1918* and *United Kingdom Adm*

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SÃO PAULO SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY

In May 1954 the School of Sociology and Politics in São Paulo Braz l completed the twenty first year of its existence Founded in 1933 by a group of scholars it defined its a m as the renewal of the teach ng staffs of the country and th study and soc al scientific investigat on

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To ersary the school decided to establish tself in its own qua ters The new bu ld ng is s tuated at 522 General Jard m Street São P it affords excellent condit ons for carryi g on th

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INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

66 Fifth Avenue New York

The Institute of World Affairs founded in 1943 is the research division of the New School for Social Research an nstitution of adult education on both the graduate and the undergraduate level The purpose of the institute is to serve as a research centre for members of the New School faculties and also for other scholars who are drawn to the school by the strongly international character of its inte ests and its personnel

One of the principal activities of the inst tute is the study of present-day European problems A major study on rel gion in Germany today is now ... (completed by the end of 1955) under ... study in Germany by Dr Maye and ... European problems nclude *Federalism* ... *Prussia* by Arnold Brech ... *in the Rhineland 1918-1* ... *B oadcasts dur the Wa* ... *1939-1945* by Joseph ... by B en ... *Industry and Agricul* ... wo ks on the new German constitut on and on ... economic problems

Another aspect of the nst tute s act vity concerns problems connected ... trialization Publ cat ons include *I dustriali ... and Lab r Soci l Aspe ts f Ec nomic Development* by Wilbert E Moore *Ed at n f an I dustrial Ag* by ... Ernest Hamburger and occas o ...

... *ternati n l T ad* by Hans Neisser ... year the inst tute has publisl ed major wo k based on years of study in wh ch the tools of econometric analysis a e used to examine the effect that fluctuat ons of income in the leading industr al countries exert upon the size and compos tion of industrial and non ndustri l countries imports and exports ... Neisser and Franco Mod gl ani a

The institute has conducted a number of techn cal investigations for various govern

ment gencies These ha e been primarily in th fi ld of communication and content analysis

The nstitute is interested ls in problems attenda t on th an ly is of national chara ter nd tut des—in ludi g rea st d es f spec fic commun t es espec ally t h propo rtion f fore gn born populat n d stud es on the ocial tu d es a n w go g forward under Ch ter both th

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In llaborati n with th Graduat Faculty of the New School th nstitute has establish d pe al wo ksh p urses f train ng in the methods a d problems of resea ch n both theo etical a d a pra t cal level O e uch wo kshop is c ncentrated on economic research another on th fast developing field of soc ological in estigation and analysis

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One of the principal activities of the nstitute is the study of present-day European p oblems A major study on religion in Germany today is now in process (to be completed by the end of 1955) under the direct on of Carl Mayer based on extens ve study in Germany by Dr Mayer and th ee assistants Published v orks deal ng with European problems nclude *Feder lism and Regionalism in Germany The D vision of Prussia* by Arnold Brecht *Mil tary O cupation and the R l of Law Occup tion Go ernment in the Rhineland 1918 1923* by Ernst Fraenkel *German Radio P opaganda Report on H me B oadcasts duri the War* by Ernst K is and Hans Speier *European Population Transfers 1939-1945* by Joseph B Schechtm n A

by B en ... S ... *Industry and Agriculture* ... thur Feiler and Jacob Ehrmann In shorter ... u the new German const tution and on German econom c problems ... P l l the nstitute s European studies include

Another aspect of the institute s a tivity con erns p oblems connected with industrializat on I ubl cations nclude *I dust ializ t n and Labo Social I pe t of Eco omic Development* by W lbert E Moo e *Ed tion f an Industrial A* ... Ernest Hamburger and occas on l ...

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The institute has conducted a number of technical invest gat ons for various govern

Review f I ternational Statistics 26 F bruary 19 4 38 p E/CN 3/170
[S] A general ev ew of th development of tat t cs th oughout the world (E/CN 3/148) was p esent d to the seventh sess on f the commis on The above paper gi es n ount of p ogress s nc that dat d dwells m re p rt cularly on wo k rel ting t the p eparat n nd pplicat o of tatist cal standards f the improvem nt f internati nal comp rab lity

Ind es f Q antum and Un t Value for External Trade 4 F bruary 1954, 6 p E/CN 3/171
[Sc. Pr] Impro ement f the international mparabil ty of ndexes of qua tum and nit val General rev ew of th p blem and th commiss on s recommendat ons

5 February 1954, 6 p E/CN 3/175
dex numbers of wholesale
lating ec nom c analysis

Social Statistics 9 F bru ry 1954, 14 p E/CN 3/178
[Sc.] In response t a request by th Econ mic and Social Council the Secretary General mad tudy f c nd t ns co d ci e to the development of the various bra hes f ocial tatistics ocial tratificat distr but on of ncom and wealth permeability f soci l clas es d t ons of work d employme t, spec al aspects f the rural welf rvi oc l s curity family livi g tandards nd protect n of the family health p blems nutriti n h using p tection of hildren assistance t th ged nd phys cally hand capped persons social expend tur

to Economic Statistics 7 p (plus corrigendum and

Annotated List f International Standards for Statistics 16 F bruary 1954, 31 p E/CN 3/ 1
[Sc. P] An nnotat d list f th concepts d fin t ons m thods nd princ ples of tatistical lass ficati n as et f rth in internat onal con entions together with th fin l rules d ec mmendations ad pted by th c mpetent bod es f nternational orga izati ns

Pr gres Report Balanc f Payments Statistic 4 M rch 1954 9 p E/CN 3/182
[Sc.] Work n this bject carried out by the Internati nal M netary Fund in 953 Th nnex contains brief descripti n of the fifth v lume f th b lanc of payments yearbook. The f rm n which the Fund balanc of p yments tatistics re presented was rad cally altered in 953

P pulatio Census A tivities 9 F bruary 954 1 p E/CN 3/185
[Sc. Pr] Summary f th United N tions w k n onnecti n with censuses (methodological tudies prep rat on f tand ds traini g f specialists and practical demonstrat ns expert advi assembly nd publ cat n f th results of ecent nsuses) nd th commiss n ec mmend t ns con erning the poss ble international ex ension f this work

Map f ensuses taken n different countries between 945 and 1953 and main headings used in ensus tables

Progres Report on Vital Statistic Act vitie 4 F bruary 1954, 6 p E/CN 3/186
[Sc. Org] Brief urvey of th commiss n work for th establishment of an inter national vital tatistics system. Recomm dations for th improvement and co-ordination f these tatistics

II REVIEW OF DOCUMENTS PERIODICALS AND BOOKS

DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

LEGAL QUESTIONS

Request of the General Assembly for the Codification of the Principles of International Law concerning State Responsibility Memorandum submitted by Mr F V Garcia Am d member of the International Law Comm on
[Sc][1] The General A (
such a codification
considers the scope s p all.

Nationality including Statelessness Third Repo t o h r
by Roberto Cordova Special *Rapporteu*
[Sc] State of the problem and comments c

REFUGEES

The Situation of the United N tions R fugee Emergency Fund A/AC.36/31 29 January 1954 15 p A/AC 36/31/Add 1 26 February 1954
[Pr Org Ej Dp St.] At its e gh h
the United Nations H gh Co
as from 1 January 1954 Tr
international body able to fr g10 ps of refugees in areas where the local authorities de ray only part of their maintenance expenses Statistics and analysis of requ rements and available resources

The Promot on of Permanen c of the United Nat ons H
[Pr Org Ej Dp St] \ c o tcome in connexion with the emigrat on and uc a io soc al integrat on of refugees not wish ng to be repatriated

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

STATISTICAL QUESTIONS

Documents and Work of the E ghth S s n of the Statistical Commission

The following are the main papers prepared for this meeting

[1] For planation f bbreviations, see p. 5 3

Revi o f I ternational Statistic 26 F bruary 19 4 38 p E/CN 3/170
[Sc] A general rev ew f the devel pm nt of statist cs th oughout th world (E/CN 3/148) was p esent d t th seve th sess on f th c mmiss on The abo e paper gi es an a count f progress s nce that dat and dwells m re particularly on work relating t th pr parati a d appl cat n of statist cal standards for th e mprov ment of internati al comp rab l ty

Ind xes f Quantum and U t Value for External T ad 4 February 1954 6 p E/CN 3/171
[Sc Pr] Impro ement of th nternational c mpar b l ty of ndexes of qua tum and unit alu General review of the problem and th commiss n s recommendations

Index Numbers f Whole al Pric 15 F bruary 1954 6 p E/CN 3/175
[Sc Pr] Progress f comparab l ty in th calcul tio f index numbers of wholesale prices as between differe t countries with a view to f cil tati g econom analysis Brief discuss n f th problem and ecomm ndat ons.

Social Statistics 9 February 1954, 14 p E/CN 3/178
[Sc.] In esponse to request by the Eco omic a d So l Council the Secretary ... t d f cond t ons cond c e t th development of the various
me a d wealth
cial aspects of the
protection f the
assistance t th

... *l Convention Relating to Economic Statistics* 7 p (plus corr end m nd

Annotated List f International Standards for Statistic 16 February 1954, 31 p E/CN 3/181
[Sc Pr] An nn tated l t of the ncepts d fin t ns methods and princ ples of tatistical classificat n, as t forth n internati nal co e tions tog ther with th final rules nd ecommendati ns adopted by th ompetent bodies f ternati nal orga izat ns

P gr Report Balanc f Payments Statist 4 M ch 1954 9 p E/CN 3/182
[Sc.] W k n this subject carried out by th I ternat on l Mon tary Fund n 1953 Th an ex co tains brief descripti n f th fifth volume of the b lance of payments yearbook. Th f rm in which th Fund s balanc of payments tatistics a e presented was rad cally altered n 1953

Populatio Census A tivitie 9 F bru ry 954, p E/CN 3/185
[Sc. P] Summary of th United N tions work in connexion with censuses (methodological tudies p eparati n f ta da ds training of specialists and pract cal dem nstrat ns expert dvi ass mbly nd publ cati n f the esults of recent nsuses) nd th commiss rec mmendati ns concerning th poss bl internati nal extens on f this work.

Map f ensuses taken in different countries betwee 1945 and 1953 and main headings used in nsus tables

Progres Report on V tal Statistic Act vities 4 February 1954 6 p E/CN 3/186
[Sc Org] Brief urvey f th commiss wo k for th establishment of an inter nati nal vital tatist cs system. Rec mmendations f th imp ovement a d co-ordination f these tatistics

Housing Statistics 9 February 1954 17 p (plus addendum) E/CN 3/187 E/CN 3/187/ Add 1
[Sc Pr St] Present international position of housing statistics Commission s recommendations for the improvement of these statistics prospects Numerous tables

International Chamber of Commerce Study on Distribution Censuses 3 March
E/CN 3/190
[Sc] In 1951
the work ca
United Natio ... survey The document
under review ... of the present state and aims of this work

Conference of European Statisticians 26 January 1954 2 p
[Sc] Short account of the conference which dealt with two technical questions—statistics of external trade and wholesale price statistics

National Income

Methods of National Income Statistics in ECAFE Countries 21 January 1954 24 p E/CN 11/STAT/Conf 3/4
[Sc Dp] Prepared for the Th

Standa ds of Living

R port on International D finit on and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living March 1954 95 p printed $ 1 80 E/CN 3/179 1954 IV 5
[Sc St.] Report of a committee of experts convened in June 1953 by the Secretary General of the United Nat ons jointly with the ILO and Unesco These experts considered the methods best suited to the definition and measurement of standards of living and the r va iations in the different countries with a view to internat onal comparison The r report is a general review of the problems now
measurement of standards of living
for
Ref

AGRICULTURE LAND TENURE RURAL DEVELOPMENT ETC.

European Agriculture A Statement of P blems 1954 83 p printed $ 80 E/ECE/175
[Sc. Ej St Dp] Paper prepared by the Econom c Commis ion for Europe and the FAO on the problem of modify ng the policy followed by European countries n connexion with agricultural production and trade in agricultural products with a iew to improving the general econom c situation of Europe and the l ving on l tions of the peasantry Main factors influenc ng European producti ity and agr cultu food consumpt on agr cultural policy and trade in agr cultural products in Western nd Eastern Europe

Rural P ogress through Co-operat ves The Plac of Co-operat e As ociati ns in Agricultural Dev lopment 1954 112 p p inted $ 75 E/2524
[Pr Sc Ej Dp Org] Paper prepa ed by the United Nat ons n co-operat on w the ILO and the FAO on the possibil t es offered

... c rcumst nces The

main probl ms dealt with re th a ms d methods of co-operat e associat ns factors making for their success the u n connex w th th d technical p ogress financing pur h trainin gro

l

Land Reform. Analysis f repl es by governments to a UN q est onnaire 954 322 p p ted $2 50 E/2526 [Sc. P Ej Dp St] Th p esent structure f la d ownership is n bstacle t the eco mi d ocial developm t of many countr es A p ogramme f the encouragem t of ref rm has been set on foot by tl e Un ted N tions In 19 1 th O ganizatı n decided to urvey at least every th ee years the acti n taken by the diff ent countries n connexion with this progr mme and more generally with all matters affecting the eorganizati of land distrib t on. The lum under review is the first repo t drawn up in impl mentat on of this decis on. O c 60 untries d territ ries with a t tal f bout 1 300 mill on nhab ta to pecial q estı nna e circulated n November 1 Th eport drawn up h perat 1 trends in America Afric L problems mendati tatistics o thes pol es p ospects nd recom various practical

Rural Electrifi tion Add tional I formation. 24 December 1953 29 p E/ECE/EP/136 [Sc Ej Dp St.] In 952 under th ausp es of th FAO and th Technical Assista ce Administrati n f th Eco omic Commiss n fo Europe expe ts p epared a report in tw parts rural l trificat n (E/ECE/164 v ls 1 nd 2) A w king party was then t p by th Eco omi Commiss n fo Europe t p t the study of this p blem mor perma ent basis At th first meeti g of this work ng party (5 8 N ember 953) some countries (Rumani Uni n of Soviet Socialist Republics d P l d) wh h had n t p eviously upplied any nformati n gave p rticul rs which eprod ed in the docum nt under eview

ECONOMI RESOURCES INDUSTRY TRAD TC

P ssibil ties for the Dev lopment f the P per and P lp Industry Lat Americ 1954, 142 p printed, $ 50 E/CN 2/294/Rev 2—19 3 II G2 [S St Dp Ej] Pr liminary tudy of th pulp d p per equirements that will p b bly ha t be m t by Latin America futur nd nalysis f this industry p esent d f ture p od ti poss bilit es General aspects f th problem f th region as wh l a d mo ographs f ind vid al untries (Arge t na Brazil Ce tral America, Chil Colomb Cuba, Ecuad Mexico P rag ay Peru Surinam British d F ch G iana V ez l)

Study f the P p ts f Inter Latin American T ad (southern of the egion) 1954 34 p printed $ 50 E/CN 12/3 4/Rev 2 [Ej St. Dp Ej] Study of th development f trad between the sev n c untries of the thern e f Latin Ameri a (o er 80 pe cent of th total trad between the Lat n America ountries) Arg tina Bolivia Brazil Chil Pa guay Peru and Uruguay F cts p ospects nd c n lus ns

Comp t tion between Ste l and Alumi um. 12 F bruary 1954, 155 p $1 25 E/ECE/Steel/81 [Sc. Ej Dp St.] First mo ograph issued in a new eries of reports n th metals and ther materials competing with teel Th eport ts ut to d fin the on f com petiti between t l d alumin um d discusses h w far aluminium is already

Housing Statistics 9 February 1954 17 p (plus addendum) E/CN 3/187 E/CN 3/187/Add 1
[Sc Pr St.] Present international position of housing statistics Commission s recommendations for the improvement of these statistics prospects Numerous tables

International Chamber of Commerce Study on Distribution Censuses 3 March E/CN 3/190
[Sc] In 1951 the Inte
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Conference of European Statisticians 6 January 1954 2 p
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National Income

Methods of N tional Income Statistics in ECAFE Countries 21 January 1954 4 p E/CN 11/STAT/Conf 3/4
[Sc Dp] Prepared for the Third Regional Conference of Statist
March 1954) List of nat onal income tab
since about the year 1930 in various co
analysis of the structure of these calcul

Standards of Living

Report on International D finition and Measurement of Stand rds and Levels of Living March 1954 95 p printed $ 1 80 E/CN 3/179 1954 IV 5
[Sc. St.] Report of a committee of experts convened in June 1953 by the Secretary General of the United Nat ons jo ntly with the ILO and Unesco These experts considered the methods best suited to the definition and measurement of standards of liv ng and their var at ons in the different countries with a view to intern l compa ison Their report is a general rev ew of
measurement of st
for bringing into
Reference docum

AGRICULTURE LAND TENURE RURAL DEVELOPMENT ETC

European Agriculture A Statement of P oblems 1954 83 p pr nted $ 80 E/ECE/173
[Sc. Ej St Dp] Paper p epared by the Econom c Comm
FAO on the problem of mod fy
... l ving condit ons of the
s in uencing European p oductivity and gricultu e food consumption agricultural policy and trade in agricultural produ ts in Western and Eastern Eu ope

Rural Progress thr ugh Co-operati s The Place f Co-operat ve As oci t ons in Agricultural Development 1954 112 p printed $ 75 E/2524.
[Pr Sc Ej Dp Org] Paper prepared by the U
the ILO and the FAO

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main problems dealt with are th ms and methods of co-operat e associati ns factors making f their ccess their action in connex on with the distribut on of la d technical progress financing purchases a d sales healt educat n and vocat onal training grouped f rms, collecti e nd communal f rms work done by the ILO a d th FAO f rural o-operation

P gres in Land Reform. Analysis of repl es by governments to a UN quest onnaire 19 4 322 p pri ted $2 50 E/25 6 [Sc. Pr Ej Dp St.] The pres t tructure of la d ownership is an obstacle t the economi and ocial development of many countries.

A programme for th encouragement f ef rm has been et on foot by the U ted N ti ns. In 1951 th Organizat on decided to rvey t least every three years th cti taken by the diff ent countries in connexion with this programme and generally with all matters ffecting the reorga ization f la d distribut on. The olum under review is th first eport drawn up in mpl mentat n of this de is n. Over 60 countries d terrt ries with a total f bout 1 300 mill n inhab tants repl ed to speci l q esti nnaire circul ted n November 1952

Th eport drawn up n th basis f thes epl es by the U ted N t ns in co-operati with the ILO nd th FAO gi es very f ll survey of the p blem general trends in the various ountries policy in this matter (ew cou tries Un ted States of America, Australi New Zeal d Eu ope As a d th Far East th M ddle East Africa Latin America) legal economi a d technical sol t ons t the va ous pract cal pr bl ms arising out f the pplicati n f these pol es p ospects nd recom mendati ns Extens tatistics

Rural Electrific tion Add tional I f rmation. 24 December 1953 29 p E/ECE/EP/136 [Sc Ej Dp St.] I 952 under the usp es of th FAO nd the Technical Assistance Administrat on f th Eco omi Commiss n f E ope expe ts p ep ed a report in tw parts on rural lectrificat o (E/ECE/ 64, v ls 1 nd 2) A wo ki g party was then t p by th Ec nomi Commiss n f r E ope t put the t dy f this p bl m m perma ent basis At th first m eting of this wo king party (25 28 November 953) some countries (Rumania Uni n of Soviet Socialist Republ cs and P l d) wh h had n t p eviously pplied a y nformati n gave particul rs whi h ep od ed in the document u der ev ew

CO OMI RESOURCES INDUSTRY TRAD TC.

P b l tie for the Dev lopment f the P per and P lp Industry Latin Americ 1954, 142 p printed $1 5 E/CN 2/294/Rev 2— 953 II G2 [Sc St Dp Ej] Pr liminary t dy f th pulp nd paper requirements that will P b bly ha t be met by Latin Amer ca f ture a d nalysis of this industry p esent d f tur produ ti poss bil ties General aspects of th p oblem fo the egi n as wh l d m ographs for ind vidual untries (Arg nt na Brazil Central America, Chile Col mb C b Ecuad Mexico P raguay Peru Surinam British d F en h Guiana Venez l)

Study f the P pects f I ter Latin American T ad (s uthern zon of the egio) 1954 34 p printed, $ 5 E/CN 2/304/Rev 2 [Ej St. Dp Ej] Study f the development f trade between th even c untries of the southern on f Latin Amer ca (80 per ent f the total trad between th Lat n America untries) Argentina Bolivia Brazil Chil P raguay Peru and Uruguay F ts p ospects nd con lusions

Compet tion b tween Ste l and Aluminium. 12 February 1954, 55 p $1 25 E/ECE/Steel/81 [Sc. Ej Dp St.] First mo ograph iss ed in a new eries of eports on th metals and ther materials ompeting with teel. Th report ets out to defin the zone of com petiti between teel nd aluminium and discusses how far aluminium is already

Housing Statistics 9 February 1954 17 p (plus addendum) E/CN 3/187 E/CN 3/187/ Add 1
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AGRICULTURE LAND TENURE RURAL DEVELOPMENT ETC.

European Agriculture A Statement of Problems 1954 8
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Rural Progress thro gh Co-operatives The Plac f Co-operat e As ociations n Agricultural Development 1954 112 p p inted $ 75 E/2524
[Pr Sc Ej Dp Org] Paper prepa ed by the Un ted Nat ons n o-operat on w h the ILO and the FAO on the poss b l t es offered b

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pamphlets nd articles on the questio E/CN 6/245 3 February 1954 7 p) *Economic Opportunitie for W men Older Women Worker* (discuss on of ava lable data in the different cou tries o the number a d status of women wo kers o er 40 years E/CN 6/2 1 9 F bruary 1954, 58 p) *Acc f*
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FREEDOM IN TH FIELD O EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

F eedom f I formation. S pplementary report bmitted by Mr S lvador P Lopez *pporteur* on F eed m of Inf rmat on. E/2426/Add.1 1 February 1954 26 p E/2426/Add 2 1 F bruary 1954 2 p
[Sc. Ej Dp] I 1953 Mr Lopez an expert whom th Economic and Social Council ppointed an individual capacity to carry out a general urvey of th p blem of freedom of informatio n the wo ld today publ hed lengthy report c nt ning th hist ri b ckgr und f th q esti n nalysis f the p esent tuat on nd a ecommend ti (E/2426) Documents E/2426/Add 1 nd Add. 2 m p a number of ew developm ts o er th last few m nths They lso co ta n a survey f the work f th eighth ess of th General Assembly c erni g f eed m f inf rmation, a d data pplied by us w ld p ess organizat ons (n p rticula th res lts of the Associ ted P ess w ld inq ry t nsorsh p d other estri tions on freed m of inf rmat o)

F dom f I formation Report of th *pporteur* o F eedom of Informati n Com muni ti n dated 19 January 1954 from the Dep ty Permanent Representat ve of th Uni n f So th Africa to th Secretary-General 1 F bruary 1954, 4 p
[Sc Ej] Th Go ernment of th Uni n of South Africa contests rious f cts ment ed by Mr S lvad P Lopez in his eport E/2426

Study f Discriminatio Educ tio Interim Report f the Sp cial Rapporteur f the Sub Commission P eventio f Discriminatio and P tection f Minoritie 4 Dec mber 1953 56 p
[Sc. Org Dp] Acc unt f th w k carried out in this nnexi n by th United N ti ns th Internati nal Labour Offi and U esco Legal p ovis ons dopted by governments gainst discrimin ti n in ed cation B bliography

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN ASIA AND THE AR EAST

Technical Assistanc Act vitie in Economic Development and P blic Administ at on the ECAFE Regio 9 December 9 3 23 p E/CN 11/379
[Org Pr Dp St.] A count f th main f rms of assista ce whi h the Technical Ass tan Administrati pplied in 953 a d is planni g t supply n 1954 in co-rdinat with th nati nal p ogrammes f economic dev lopment and publi dministrati n in countr es f As a and the F East. General urvey Expert advisory ervices (planning f economi dev lopment development of natural esources industrial dev l pment h us g d t wn planning trad publ c administration tatistics transport nd communicati ns egi nal projects) Fellowships and sch la hips w th tatistical tables

(and can become) a rival of steel Part I History of the development of al minium and future prospects Part II Competition between steel and aluminium

Private Capital

The International Flow of Private Capital 1946-1952 18 January 1954 61 p printed. E/2531
[Sc. St Dp Ej] Statistical data available for the period from the end of the second world war to 1952 analysis of trends study of factors limiting the flow of private cap tal, prospects and conclusions

Economic De elopment of Underdeveloped Countries International Flow of Pri te Capital for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries 19 February 1954 79 p E/2456
[Sc Pr Dp Ej St Org] This report drawn up at the same time as the pamphlet *The International Flow of Pri ate Capital 1946-1952* (see above) describes the national and international measures taken to encourage the flow of private capital for economic development References to relevant research and studies Bibliography

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Implementation of ECAFE Recommendations 5 January 1954 55 p E/CN
[Org Sc Dp Ej] In 1951 the co—
act on taken by governments in
recommendations The above re[illegible] compliance with this decision Survey of the commission s activit es not giving rise to specific action on the part of governments revie of programmes necessitating special act on by governments and account of the methods of such co-operation appl cable to each country

Economic Commission f r Asia and the Far East Official Records Tenth Session 8-18 February 1954 25 March 1954 250 p
[Org Sc] Work of the sess on discussion of the documents submitted

FORCED AND CORRECTIVE LABOUR SLAVERY

Forced Labour Reports of the Ad Hoc Committee n Forced Labour Observations and communications of governments A series of papers E/2431/Addenda
[Ej] The Economic and Social Counc l and the ILO set up an *ad hoc* [illegible]
three independent experts to study th [illegible]
and corrective labour in the wo ld at [illegible]
report (E/2431 1953) Various states [illegible]
cat ons on the report to the Un ted Na[illegible]
Czechoslovak a Poland Venezuela [illegible]

Slavery A series of documents 26 February 1954 93 p E/2458 and several addenda
[Sc. Org Dp] On the basis of an initial report (E/2357 27 April 1953) the General Assembly adopted a resolution concern ng the reform of the 1926 Internat onal Convention on Slavery The above report describes the act on taken on this decis on and quotes the comments and new informat on recei ed from various states and the ILO

STATUS OF WOMEN

[Sc. Dp Ej St Org] Various papers wer published in connexi n with th eighth sess on of the Commission on the Stat [illegible] [illegible]cluded on 9 April 1954
F [illegible] *m g of Per ns I tere ted*
u [illegible] February 1954 12 p)
F [illegible] p ox mately 100 books

SECRETARIAT

STATISTICAL QUESTIO S

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gual Engl h F ch
[Sc Pr] Separate p int of
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all countries and t rritories u wo ld. Th t tles of wo ks n a l nguag ther than English F ench a e acc mpanied by an Engl h transl t on. ali ty tables s nce 1900 f

Development f Statistic n Burma
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user personally dealt with th ul ey 1 1951 mple census n Rangoon in Burma in 19 1 5 w ki g on th basis f his p ed essors l bo rs nd n co- operati with Burmes experts He thinks that with the help f thes experts B rma will oo be bl t compet with the most dva ed ountries in th f ld of tatist cs Th eport describes the p ogress in this fi ld a d p ts f rward pecif ecommenda tions ed assessment

NATI NAL INCOME

The N tional Income and N tional Ac ounts f the Republic f Panama 1944 1952 by Dr H Rijken va Olst 9 3 82 p printed ST/TAA/K/P nama/1
[Sc.] Aims and methods f assessing nat nal in me nd n t nal counts in general p esentati nd nalysis f d ta a ilabl f Panama ec mmendations fo their imp ement.

MMUNITY EVELO MENT SOCIAL WELFARE

Th d U ted N t ns Social W lfar Sem nar for A ab State the Middle East 1954 91 p printed $1
[Pr] Th first oc al welf eminar o ganized by th United N ti ns for the Arab States wh h was h ld in 1949 p vided n pportun ty for a ge eral discuss n f p blems
Th eco d (950) was cerned with ru l ocial welf e.
Th third (th p oceedi gs f which ar epo ted th document under rev ew) was h ld in 1952 It dealt with existing w lf ervi es d th p oblems l ed the assembly f d ta th w k f thes ervi es nd the pl nni g f the p ogrammes esearch and tatistics in th fi ld f ocial welfa ff ts of ec m d elopment ocial w lf pr grammes fina cing med co-social ervices et List f persons tt ding th eminar ecommend ti ns conclus ns list f w ki g p pers.

Social Services in Israel by Pr fess T S Symey and Miss Dor thy C. Kahn. 9 N vember 19 3 36 p ST/TAA/K/I a l/
[Pr] At th eq est f th Governm t f I ra l tw experts we instru ted by the T hnical Assistan Administrat n t tudy ertain p blems in this country c n ted with th organizat n f ministries con erned with w lf questions th organizati n f g eral social ervi es th development f local w lfar centres th employment and training of w lf w kers family assistan e, esear h int thes bjects et

THE FAO ILO AND UNESCO IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Activities of FAO of Special Interest to Asia and the Far East 11 December 1953 15 p E/CN /11/380
[Org Ej] Asia is certainly the continent on which the solution of the world food problem mainly depends General data on the question The FAO s contribution to the raising of this region s agricultural output statistical d
meet ngs various programmes
(document published by the E
tenth session February 1954)

Activities of the ILO of Special Interest to Asia and the Far East 16 December 1953 45 p E/CN 11/381
[Org Ej] Supplements the *Seventh Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations* with special emphasis on the work carried out by the ILO in Asia and the Far East in 1953 results of the third Asian Regional Conference and the Asian Maritime Conference the fifth session of the Asian Advisory Committee and recent developments in the field of technical assistance (document published by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East for its tenth session February 1954)

Unesco Activities in 1953 of Interest to the ECAFE 27 January 1954 23 p E/CN 11/384
[Pr Org] Concise descr ption by type of l country of Unesco programmes of m s Member States in the ECAFE reg o extens on of school education comm Korean rehab l tation exchange of persons fellowships scient fic research teaching and dissem nation of sc ence techn cal assistance co-operation in the field of social science assistance for higher educat on information voluntary international assistance etc.

LIBYA

The Economic and Social Development of Libya by Benjamin Higgins 1953 170 p printed $1 75 ST/TAA/K/Libya/3
[Sc St Ej] Condensed vers on of the report of a m
study all the p oblems
the po nt of view of the
of act on for the years

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

NON SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Survey of the Situation in the Trust Territories

[Ej Sc St] A series of documents The Secreta iat is publish ng a prel m nary series of working papers which are the first drafts of ch pters on each of the following trust territories to be included in the Trusteeship Counc l next repo t to the General Assembly Tanganyika Ruanda Urundi Somal land under It
the Cameroons under B itish ad
tion Togoland under B itish a
Western Samoa Nauru and Ne
geography and demography of
progress in various fields (pol t al and educat onal development)
The documents in this ser es that hav already been rece ed deal w th the Cameroons under British administration (T/L.404 and various addenda) the Cameroons under French administrat on (T/L.406 and Addenda) Togoland under British adm nistra tion (T/L.407 and Addendum) and Togoland under Fren h administration (T/L.409 and Addendum)

[Pr Ej St.] Present lectr ty s pply s tuation in Colomb a and constructive suggestions f r its impro eme t. The nnex touches br efly on other publ c util ties (water telepho markets) in Col mbia.

MEXICO (IRON AND STEEL)

An Enquiry into the I on and Ste l Industry f M xic 11 January 1954, 74 p printed. ST/TAA/K/Mex co/1
[Sc. Pr St. Ej] Summary of the findings and recommendat ons of three experts ppo ted by the United Nations to analyse, n co-operation with many Mexican experts th progress of the ro d steel industry in Mexico and the problems involved in supplying coal for this industry

PHILIPPINES (ARTS AND CRAFTS)

Hand W am

[P

the l Ass tan Administrat n t the eq est of the Phil pp nes Governm nt a pecial two-year inquiry Miss Walla e, appointed by printed gives a cr tical ccount f th part pl yed by th hand weaving industry n this country d puts f rward ecommendat ons for its devel pment in co-ordination w th general programmes fo ec mic and ocial devel pment nd for improved output of hom industries d crafts Map Ph tographic illustrations.

The Ceramic Industry in the Ph l ppines by Mary Kring Risley o J nuary 1954, 22 p., printed, $ 25 ST/TAA/K/Philippines/4.
[Pr Ej] Simila report to th f eg g but dealing with pottery the manufacture of bri ks tc.

EL SALVADOR (EVELO MENT)

The Ec nomic and Social Dev lopment f El Sal ador A eries f documents 1954.
[Ej S St.] Under gr m t ncluded n 26 F bruary 1951 between the United N t ons d the Specialized Agen es epresented on the Technical Assistance Committee, n th hand and the Government of El Salvador on the other hand experts wer ppo ted t p epare eports o a few pecial aspects of the economic and ocial dev l pment f El Salvado Thes reports are a critical a count of the p blem d t with nd co tain d tailed ecommend tions The f llowing eports

Soci l W lfar Pr gr mme in El S l ado 18 p

Dev lopment f G logical Re ource in El

The Harb ur Sy tem f El Sal ador 140 p

T lecommunications in El Sal ador 77 p S

P blic Finance in El Sal ador

P oduction and Distributio f Ele tricity in El Sal ador 44 p ST/TAA/K/El S lvado /4.

The Textile Industry El Sal ador 124 p ST/TAA/K/El S lvador/6

Industrial Development f El S l ado 45 p ST/TAA/K/El Salvad r/8 ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/7

Inland T ansport El Sal ador 88 p ST/TAA/K/El S 1 dor/11 04 p ST/TAA/K/El S lvado /10

and to advise on the best means of improving the situation in these various spheres The pamphlet under review contains the report of these two experts

United Nations Series on Community O gani ation and Development | Monograph on community settlements and report of the survey mission on community organization and development Israel 1954 89 p printed $ 80
[Fr Sc Ej St] Part I Survey of the organization of and part played by communities and co operative farms temporary villages for immigrants etc Part II Report of a mission responsible for studying other types of centres and welfare services in Israel Statistics

Full bibliography containing references to sociological works on stratification social relations cultural integrat on etc in Israeli communities

Switzerland (United N tions series on Community Organi ation and De lopment Country monographs) 1954 14 p printed $ 15 ST/SOA/Ser 0/17
[Pr Ej] Account of the organization and work of the various types of institutions directly or indirectly concerned with the promotion of community development in Switzerland the commune itself as the sovereign school authority welfare services communal property etc parishes workers centres women s and youth clubs social clubs etc Survey of the special programme of assistance for Alpine districts

PREVENTION OF CRIME AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENTS

Compa at ve Survey on Juvenile Delinquency Part IV Asia and the Fa East November 1953 123 p printed $1 ST/SOA/SD/1/Add 3
[Pr Sc Ej St. Dp] Fourth
delinquency throughout the
regard to juvenile delinquer c us prevention etc) in the following countries Burma Ceylon Ind a Japan Pak stan Ph l pp nes and Thailand B bliography

Latin American Sem na on the P evention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders 1954 89 p pr nted $ 80 ST/TAA/Ser C/13
[Sc Pr] The sem nar was held at Rio de Janeiro from 6 to 19 April 1953 The report under review gives its programme the list of persons attending (f om 17 countries) and recommendations The main subjects dealt with were the m nimum rules for the treatment of prisoners recruitment and training of staff for pen
reformatories system of open

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1953 Bangkok February 1954 161 p printed $1 50 1953 II F 8
[Sc Ej Dp St.] Seventh survey of this k nd p epa ed by the Economic Commiss on f r Asia and the Far East Apart f om the analysis of trends common to the region this report conta ns for the f rst t me a series of monographs on the nd idual countries (all countries in the region with the except on of continental China wh ch was dealt with in a monograph published separately in the November 1953 issue of th *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*)

COLOMBIA (ELECTRICITY)

Public Util tie i Colombia by Cec l A Ellu 28 December 1953 65 p printed $ 60 ST/TAA/K Colomb a/1

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

Causes [illegible] the Cou[illegible] of [illegible] for the Prevention 1[illegible] [illegible] p printed, [illegible]
[Pr Dp. St. Ej] A[illegible] of [illegible] Labour Office in France, It[illegible] and Switzerland [illegible] coupling [illegible] vehicles and methods of [illegible]

VOCATIO[illegible] AL TRAINING [illegible]

[illegible] T[illegible] [illegible] Dockworkers [illegible]
[Sc. Pr St. Ej] Account [illegible] workers [illegible] Rotterdam by [illegible] support of the government [illegible] Bas[illegible]c trainin[illegible], tra[illegible] handbooks [illegible] Rotterdam experimen[illegible] practical possibility [illegible] how that dockwork [illegible]

The Recruitment an[illegible] Training [illegible] ments. 195[illegible]
[Sc Pr] Scope and [illegible] with [illegible]

The I[illegible]national Exc[illegible] of Student [illegible]
[St. Sc.] The [illegible] into the [illegible] training and [illegible] enquiry [illegible] up in the [illegible] years in the number [illegible] pers[illegible] that ha[illegible] been able to take [illegible] practical tr[illegible] c[illegible]urses broad. Extensive statistics

TECHNICAL ASSISTA[illegible]CE

T[illegible]hnical Assistance 1954, 100 p printed, $ 75
[Sc Dp Ej Org] Critical [illegible]tudy [illegible] f th[illegible] ILO practical [illegible] through th[illegible] pplication of the [illegible] Assistance p[illegible]ogr[illegible]mme purpos[illegible] [illegible]f the programm[illegible] fields [illegible] organization [illegible]nd [illegible]dministrati[illegible] pla[illegible]ning assessment of results [illegible] p[illegible]jects [illegible]
A larg[illegible] [illegible]umber [illegible]f illustrations gr[illegible]phs [illegible]nd a map

[illegible]MPLOYEES

Salaried Employ[illegible] Modern Soc[illegible] by Fritz C[illegible] Head [illegible] Statistics Office [illegible] S[illegible]edish Central Organization [illegible]f S[illegible]laried Emplo[illegible] [illegible] [S[illegible] Ej St.] B[illegible]oad outli[illegible] of th[illegible] [illegible] theory [illegible] of th[illegible] empl[illegible]yee class in the world today (C[illegible] [illegible]tudy [illegible]f this [illegible]lass)

LAB[illegible]UR IN AVIATIO[illegible]

Cond[illegible]tions [illegible]f Employment in I[illegible]ternational Civil Avia[illegible]ion, by Capta[illegible] Schenkman. 1954 6[illegible] p printed, $ [illegible]5
[Sc. Ej] Organizati[illegible]n [illegible]f labour conditi[illegible]ns [illegible]f employment, [illegible]emuneration, holidays

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION[1]

GENERAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Repo t of the Di ector General Workers Housin Economic and Social Survey Activities of the ILO International Labour Conference Thirty seventh session 1954 144 p printed $1
[Sc Org Ej St] It is the established practice for the report presented by the D rector General of the ILO to the annual session of the Labour Conference to retrace the general pattern of social evolution over the past year and to draw attention to the sal ent features of the social pol cy applied throughout the world during this period This year s report dwells more particularly on th ... t in all continents and the factors that coul ... t practical social progress Such progress l ... internat onal relations

Furthermore the report sums up the ILO ... rk and discusses the hous ng p obl m ... problem is one of the pre ... for a balanced economy in

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Summary of Reports on Unratified Conventions and on Recommendations (Article 19 of the Constitution) 1954 72 p printed $1
[Sc Org] Under Article 19 of the ILO s Constitution Member States are obliged to report to the Director General of the International Labour Office on the posit on of their law and practice in regard to the matters dealt with n the ... s unratified conventions and ...

The reports summar ... recommendation conce ... and a recommendation

Minimum wages in Latin America 1954 10 ...
[Sc Ej Dp St] Compar ... on 19 countries of Latin ... present position of legisla ...

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

Holidays with pay 1954 51 p printed $.40
[Sc. Org] Analysis of the replies of governments to a draft recommendat on concerning hol days with pay text of draft recommendation designed to serve as a basis for the second discuss on of this question at the th rty-seventh sess on of the International Labour Conference

Utilization of holidays with pay 1954 72 p printed $.50
[Pr Ej Dp] Survey of various countries present arrangements for workers leisure analysis of the act on taken by the ILO and various governments to enable workers to derive full benefit from the r hol days methods of organizing and financing s ch measures and poss ble improvements in this field

[1] As general rul ILO publications re is ed in English, French nd Spanish.

PREVENTION O ACCIDENTS

Caus s f Accident the Coupling f Railway V hicle and Related Operations and M asur for the P evention 1953 22 p printed $ 25
[Pr Dp St. Ej] Analy is f the esults f an nquiry cond cted by the Internat al Labo r Offi in F Italy d Sw tzerland on th ma n causes of cc dents in the coupling of vehicles and m thods of preventing ch cc de ts

VOCATIONAL TRAINING SEMINARS EXCHANGES ETC.

Voc t onal T in f Dockworker n the Port f Rotterdam. 1954 11 p printed $ 10
[Sc P St. Ej] A unt f the pil t p ogramm for th vocational tra ng of dock w kers t R tterdam by th So th R tterdam Marit me Federat on with th f nanc l pport of th g ernment and mun cipal ty A ms a d truct e of the p ogramme Bas tr ining tra g f pec lists a d foremen supplementary c rses techn cal ha dbooks esults obta ned train g school f dockwo kers The c nclus n is th t the R tterd m experim t has sh wn that the vocat onal tra ning f dockworkers is a pract cal poss bil ty Th implementati n of this syst m of vocat onal tra ning goes t bow that dockw k is genuin trad

The Recruitment and T aining f Technic l and Voc tional T achi g Staff Technical docu ments 953 56 p
[Sc P] Sc pe d importa of the p oblem. Review f p oblems arising in connex on with ecru tment training p om tion and remuneration. B bl ography on the subject

The I ternational Ex hang f Student Empl y 1954, 18 p printed, $ 10
[St. Sc.] Th I t rnat nal Labour Offi has lready nd cted several enquiries int th pportunities ff ded in the d fferent c tries f foreigners to take pract cal training d ocati n l ef esher ourses n their territory Th esults f th 1953 enquiry mmed p in th bookl t under eview how a great increase o er p evi us years in the umber f pers ns that hav been ble to take such p actical training ourses abroad. Extens tatistics

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

T chnical Assistanc 954 100 p printed $ 75
[Sc Dp Ej Org] Critical tudy f th ILO technical assistanc programme extens on f th ILO practical ct ties thr ugh the ppl cation f th United N tions Techn cal Ass tan p gramm purpose of th p ogramm fi lds f w k p bl ms of ganizati d dministration planning assessment f esults a d f llow-up work n p jects
A larg numb f illustrations graphs a d map

EMPLOYEES

Salaried Empl y es M dern Society by Frit Cr ner Head of th Statistics Office of the Swedish Ce tral Organizati of Salaried Employees 19 4 14 p printed $ 15
[S Ej St.] B d thin of th uth theory erning the dev lopment a d r le of th employee class in th w ld today (Cr er is ociologist specializing in the tudy f this lass)

LABOUR IN AVIATION

Cond tions f Employment in International C vil Aviatio by Captai S henkman. 1954 6 p p inted $ 5
[Sc Ej] Org niz ti n f labour ditions f employment, emunerati n, h lidays

and recreation —
international

INTERNATIONAL CO-ORDINATION OF EMPLOYMENT MARKETS IN THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

The Common Employment Market for the Northern Countries by Bertil Olsson 1954 11 p printed $ 15
[Sc Ej Pr] Machinery for establishing a common employment market for Denmark Finland Iceland Norway and Sweden its operation the part played by the central authorities employers and workers organizations and local labour services.

BUILDING AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN ITALY

Workers Housing and the Unemployment Problem in Italy First results of the Fanfani Plan 1954 15 p $ 15
[Ej St] Outline of the plan adopted by the Italian Government in February 1949 organic structure implementation (technical aspects general distribution of work allocation of housing social aspects) results obtained lessons learnt from experience. Statistics

UNITED NATIONS FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

WORK OF FAO

The Work of FAO 1952-53 Growing Food for a Growing World 1954, 38 p printed $ 50
[Org Ej St.] The work of FAO as related to the growth of population soil development and improvement rationalization of crops and stock farming equipment trade in products of the soil diet and health fisheries timber problem land reform.

Report of the Seventh Session of the Conference 23 November 11 December 1953 March 1954 256 p $2 Trilingual English French and Spanish.
[Sc. Org] The FAO holds biennial conferences The seventh was held in November December 1953 The document under review contains the resolutions adopted by the conference on such subjects as the world situation and trends as regards food and agriculture the organization s work and programme and the 1954 55 budget. Analytical index.

Budget for 1954 as approved by the Seventh Session of the Conference 1954 43 p printed
[Org St.] Detailed analysis

WORLD SITUATION

The State of Food and Agriculture—1953 Part II Longer Term Prospects January 1954 83 p printed $1
[Sc. Ej Dp St.] Survey of probable developments in the field of food and agriculture over the next few years if the present programmes of the governments are carried into effect and due regard is had to demographic trends production and consumption for the whole world by region and product commercial repercussions factors and prerequisites for the attainment of the results forecast (soil development and utilization of water mechanization selection development of fisheries)

STATISTICS

Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics Trade—1953 Vol VII Part II 313 p printed $3 50 Trilingual English French and Spanish.
[Sc. St.] Data available as at 31 December 1953 For the first time the yearbook

pplies figures t ll w f mparis ns 1th th period 1934 38 This vol me (Part II f th) book) deals w th trade. P rt I is cerned with prod ct n

RATI NAL DIET

Food Comp sitio T ble — Mineral and V tam ns F internat nal us March 1954 117 p pri ted $1
[Sc.] T bles gi g th A C a d B vitamin content th riboflavi and n c e c tent, and th cal um d iron content of few stapl foods Thes data a importa t f mp oving th di t f commun t es Very full b bl ography (56 p)

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

MONO RAPHS

Plague by R. P llitzer 698 p p inted (M ograph N 22) $9
[Sc Pr Ej Dp St.] Sta da d refer nce wo k on th wh le p oblem treated f m the historical and medical point f ew It is wr tten in the light of th most recent scientif c disc er es and takes the pl ce of the bas c wo k p blished in 1936 by Wu Lien teh Chun, P llitzer a d Wu.

T ponemato es World P blem, by T Guth nd R. R Will ox 1954 80 p pri ted
[Sc. Pr Ej Dp St.] Syphilis yaws nd p ta a diseases rais g pecially serious ocial p blems and f rming a gro p p rt—that of th treponematoses—by eason of th ir haracte and becaus they e menabl t penicill n t eatment N tur and pe f th pr blem f trepo ematoses new ther peuti m thods ork f governments d ternat nal agencies mass ampaigns sample surveys t o t ol esults eco omi and oc l aspects

LE ISLATION

Lepr sy 954 31 P p inted
[Sc Ej Dp] Survey f th dev l pment a d p esent tat of leprosy health legisl tion Special p bl ms l ed is l t f lepers vocations open to them marriage d immigrati n f lepers measures fo th p otect on f ther f milies et (p tecti n f hildr n, w lf ers ces) d th ir ocat onal readjustm nt. B bl ogr ph cal eferen es

Ant Smallpo Vaccination 954 40 p p nted.
[S St Ej Pr] Comp rison f th different untries legisl t in this matter Syn pt tabl Deta ls f vac inati n te hn que B bl ograph cal ef nces

STATISTICS

M ternal Mortal ty (Epidemi logic l and V tal Statist Report v l VII n 2) 1954, 5 p printed $ 75 Bilingual English F en h
[Sc. Ej Dp St.] A ailabl data f the wh l world (f th per od 1936 to 1952) bs l t numbe f maternity deaths nd orrespond g m rtal ty rat

Cases f and D ths f m I f ctious Dis as (Epidemiol gical and V tal Statistic Reports 1 VII 3) 954 5 p pri ted $ 7
Detailed tat tical data w thout mm t. The dis ases taken int cons derati n e d phtheria inf ti us hep t tis er b o-spin l m ningitis (meni gococcal) and pol o-my l tis

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

RACIAL RELATIONS

Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization, by Léon Roth 1954 64 p printed $ .40 2s.
[Sc. Ej] Unesco has undertaken the publication of a series of reports designed to indicate the attitude of the great religions and philosophical systems towards the diversity of human types

This subject was already referred to in connexion with the Reverend Father Congar's booklet *The Catholic Church and the Race Question*[1] which inaugurated the collection.

Professor Léon Roth approaches the subject from a special angle and briefly describes the specific contribution of Judaism to world civilization He thus stresses all factors in Judaism which are the very negation of racial exclusivism and records the extent of the debt humanity owes to Judaism Bibliography

The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem by W A. Visser t Hooft 1954 70 p printed $ 40 2s

[Sc Ej] Booklet in the same series The Ecumenical Movement today unites over 160 Protestant Anglican and Orthodox Churches The author sets forth the basic views of these Churches on the racial question Bibliography

Race Mixture by Harry L Shapiro 1954 56 p printed $ 5 1s 6d[2]
[Sc Ej Dp St] Book[illegible]
quest on from the po[illegible]
of the Depa[illegible]
New York [illegible] aspects of the problem of race mixtur[illegible] racial hybrids race consciousness culture biological considerations) A few practical examples are given to illustrate the diversity of causes and effects of race mixtures (Pitcairn Jamaica and Hawaii) Bibliography

Racial Equality and the Law by Morroe Berger 1954 76 p printed $ 50 3s
[Sc Ej] Study of the laws introduced in the United States of America with a view to reducing racial discrimination (with special reference to employment) and of the effectiveness of these laws The author dwells on group relations in the United States of America employment discrimination and its decline the legal aspect of the problem and the role of the federal state and municipal governments and private organizations In his final remarks the author stresses the importance of the law as a means of guiding and speeding up the evolution of mental habits and everyday behaviour

EDUCATION

The Education of Teachers in England France and the U S A by C. A Richardson Hélène Brûlé and Harold E. Snyder 1953 341 p printed $2 11s 6d
[Sc. Dp Ej] Volume consisting of three monographs on three democracies which introduced universal schooling last century (England France and the United States of America) The following subjects are dealt with the origin development and organization of primary teacher training curricula finance and staff recruitment and professional and social status of teachers etc

General introduction by Karl W Bigelow Bibliographies

1. Also published in Spanish La Iglesia católica [illegible] by the Reverend Father [illegible] M J Congar O P
2. Published in Spanish La M[illegible] by Harry L Shapiro.

A Few Publications ssued

[Sc. P Ej] Of the publications on educati n ecently ssued by Unesco menti n sh uld be made f

A Handbook f S ggestions the T ach g f G gr phy (third revised ed t) by N V Scarf

Suggestions on the T achi g f History by C. P Hill (ec nd ed t on) (both th series *T wards W ld Under tandi g*)

Compulsory Educ tion in New Z aland (co d edition) (n the er es *St die on Compul ory Educ tion*)

COMMUNITY DEVELO MENT FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

Social W lfar Work J maic by Roge Ma er 19 3 166 p printed $1 25 7s 6d [P S Ej St.] Report ddressed t persons cerned with the promot on of w lfare w k through fundamental education It describes the ctivities of th Jama ca Social Welfare Commiss on from 1937 to th present day a d deals with its historical and soc logical b ckgr und organization and p ogrammes (community development mass educati o-operati es t) and results B bl ography

A PSYCHO-SOCIOLOG CAL INQUIRY IN JAPAN

W tho t the Chry anthemum and the S ord A Study f the Attitud f Y th in P t War J p by Jea Stoetz l 1954, 340 p printed P ris Pl n Unesco $2 50 12s 6d [Sc. Ej St.] F llow g th exampl f Ruth Bened t (*The Chry anthemum and the Sword* 1946) but cr ticizi g her method n certain points Stoetzel cl ded in his t tl the chrysanthemum—th emblem of th imperial f mily—a d the t ad t onal swo d f th Samurai thes tw of th symbols f a cient J p ese cultu e aga nst wh ch acti n for the eorientati of J p n has been dir ted sin 1945 Th tit d of J pa es y th a few years after th 945 phea al is the p obl m stud ed by two expe ts—th F en h oci logist Stoetzel the a th of th book nder ev ew and F ts Vos a N therla ds expert n J pa ese questi ns At Unesc ggest n they d cted fi ld quiry in 1951 52 usin th most up-to-date methods

After describing th g nizati n d ims of th inquiry Jean Stoetzel ms p th haracteristics f J p nese oci ty (hist ry a d p esent trends) d goes on t discuss th pla f y uth in this oc ty He then g es a d tailed analysis f the titudes f y ung people, n th basis f larg body f documentary material (the esults of J p es psy ho-soc l gical esea h and of special investigations carried out by Stoetz l and Vos h as pini n surveys and depth tests) Th main ubjects dealt with ar th ttitud f J pa ese yo th towards the est of the wo ld (interest in internati nal ffairs f lings towards ther untries p cifism nd m litaristic mentality t) ttitude t wards J panese inst tut ns (eco omi a d ocial devel p-ment mi system, d mocracy nd thority th emperor th f mily status f w m ligi et) dominant tra ts in the pers nality f you g peopl n Jap n Deta led nalys f m thod Ext ns e b bli graphy

SOCIA SCIENCE TEA HING

The T aching f the Social Scienc the U ted State 15 p printed $1 4s Sc Ej Pr] F th eries *T ach g in the Social Scienc* Unesc is publishing epa ate m ographs ea h describing n p rticular c untry experience in this fi ld W have l dy eviewed th l mes ocial sc en teachi g in Franc and th U ted Kingd m Others will d l with Egypt India Mex co Swed n and Yugoslavia Th port th United St tes f Am rica writt n by spe ialists urveys the bas cha terist cs f h gher nd uni ers ty educati n that ou try and goes n to ra th dev l pment f ocial en tea hing in that c text. Special ch pters deal

in detail with the teaching of political economy sociology anthropology social psychology and law

PROTECTION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

Les Techniques de Protection des Biens Culturels en cas de Conflit Armé by H Lavachery and A Noblecourt 1954 222 p printed plus 48 p of photographic plates 1 500 French frs

[Pr] Handbook written for all persons who in the event of armed conflict may have to arrange for the protection of monuments of art and history museums libraries and archives which are part of the cultural heritage of mankind A clear description is first given of the direct and indirect dangers to which cultural property may be exposed by modern warfare after which the authors explain the practical steps that should be taken in case of need Bibliography

NUCLEAR RESEARCH IN EUROPE

European Co-operation in Nuclear Research 1954 6 p printed

[Ej Org] Brief account of the history of relations between research workers and of scientific emulation since the Renaissance analysis of the reasons for the emergence of new problems in these fields especially with regard to nuclear physics and account of the origin development and functions of the European Organization for Nuclear Research the International Laboratory in Geneva etc

EXPLANATION OF ABREVIATIONS USED

Dp = Presents facts country by country (or region by region)

Ej = Supplies essential information to educators and journalists interested in social questions

Org = Is very useful for knowledge of the current activities of the international organization concerned

Pr = Supplies useful factual information for certain groups of people (educators government officials members of international organizations and economic and social institutions etc) whose activities are connected with the subject matter of the document

St = Contains statistics

Sc = Deserves the attention of scientific workers in the field concerned

The importance of these conventional signs is of course purely relative and we do not wish their use to be taken as implying a system of classification We use them merely in order to give as brief an abstract as is consistent with indicating in the easiest way possible that part of the contents of the publications and documents under review which relates to some particular branch of social science

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

P RDEA (G A.) 'Pactes égionaux et écu té collectiv *Revue d D t I ternat onal de Sciences d plomat que t pol tique* 31(4) Oct. Dec 1953 p 412 20
Th ev l t of international policy since th seco d wo ld wa has created a veritable probl m with reg rd t egio l pacts a d their nfluence on the system of collect e ecurity

In general egionalism tends to pro oke a sp rit f pol tical exclus sm incompat ble with th eeds f international co-operat on, a d to d c the s gnatory tates to egi nal greements t eglect their internati nal obl gati ns Mo eo er this sy tem is l k ly t ncourage th f rmat o f hostile blocs tuat n highly unfavourable t th m nten f p a

As ega ds th ir effect n th functi ni g f the U ted N t ns egional pacts n sp t f th p is ns f Art les 52 53 a d 54 f the Charte do not appear very lik ly t assist th Org ni t ts task of ensuri g internati nal security Regional rganizati ns hould enoun th ir w ll t pow based o the techn que f pl eres f infl 'Th util ty with egard to ll ti e ecurity eems to res d ma ly in thei ganic equilibri m wh ch nev tably ond t ons their pol ti l trategy

WRIGHT (Q.) Ec mi a d P litical Conditi ns of World Stab l ty *The Journal f Ec nomic History* 3(4) tumn 9 3 p 363 77
Whereas the ni teenth ntury was peaceful p osperous and democratic, the twent eth ce tury whi h is infinit ly mo marked by bloodshed is chara terized by p ogress in tech l gy d o ganiz t

Th modern w ld se ms cap ble f tw kinds of equil brium e based on the law f large umbers th ther th at onal ganizat on of oc ty Only the first—purely tatistical d inhuman—ca be maintained in th present syst m of nati nal rel t ns I o der t h ev th eco d men in thei eff ts t establish an intern ti nal oc ty must espect ever l fundamental principles In g neral wo ld tab lity will be establish d nly if eco omics and pol tics—tw d m ins req ri rad cally different m th ds f rganizati n—r m as indepe dent of each other as poss bl M re p rticul ly a d in th immed te f t th United Nat ons will b ble t carry t ts w k f int rnat onal tab lity nly if ts g nts rema n f ee f om ll p ess by M mber States d f ll the great w ld powers represented in t

ORMESSO (W d) Les trad ctions d m nd a tu l *R gna Italia a d P litic d C ltur* 30(349) D 9 3 p 5 7-21
Th ons qu es f th t o w ld wars trikingly illustrat the principle that modern w rf ev l tonary whereas peac is c nservat Th two conflicts have g en ris t p l ta viliz ti wh h has epl c d the b urg is vilization f th et th nt ry S e 9 9 th ppl at f th principl f nat nal ties nd f th right f th peoples t g ern themsel es has p ov ked an outburst f nat o-nal m. M tary instabil ty whi h creates ec omi nstab l ty an u paralleled sp t f in ti ns d the bolit f hab ts d cust ms that has be n tak g place before f d m tal t nsf rm ti f dista c ha e ls contributed t the our eyes W ld p blems a e exp essed rad cally different terms th ir soluti ns must be so ght th international plan T whatever contradicti ns t may be subject nternati l l darity has bec m cat g rical imper ti of the modern

in detail with the teaching of political economy, sociology, anthropology, social psychology and law.

PROTECTION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

Les Techniques de Protection des Biens Culturels en cas de Conflit Armé by H. Lavachery and A. Noblecourt. 1954. 22 p. printed plus 48 p. of photographic plates. 1,500 French frs.

[Pr.] Handbook written for all persons who, in the event of armed conflict, may have to arrange for the protection of monuments of art and history, museums, libraries and archives which are part of the cultural heritage of mankind. A clear description is first given of the direct and indirect dangers to which cultural property may be exposed by modern warfare, after which the authors explain the practical steps that should be taken in case of need. Bibliography.

NUCLEAR RESEARCH IN EUROPE

European Co-operation in Nuclear Research. 1954. 6 p. printed.

[Ej. Org.] Brief account of the history of relations between research workers and of scientific emulation since the Renaissance; analysis of the reasons for the emergence of new problems in these fields, especially with regard to nuclear physics; and account of the origin, development and functions of the European Organization for Nuclear Research, the International Laboratory in Geneva, etc.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Dp = Presents facts country by country (or region by region).

Ej = Supplies essential information to educators and journalists interested in social questions.

Org = Is very useful for knowledge of the current activities of the international organization concerned.

Pr = Supplies useful factual information for certain groups of people (educators, government officials, members of international organizations and economic and social institutions, etc.) whose activities are connected with the subject matter of the document.

St = Contains statistics.

Sc = Deserves the attention of scientific workers in the field concerned.

The importance of these conventional signs is, of course, purely relative, and we do not wish their use to be taken as implying a system of classification. We use them merely in order to give as brief an abstract as is consistent with indicating, in the easiest way possible, that part of the contents of the publications and documents under review which relates to some particular branch of social science.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

PORDEA (G A.) «P tes ég naux et écu té llecti e *Revue d D t I ternat nal d S ience d plomatique t pol t que* 31(4) Oct Dec 19 3 p 412 20
Th ev l t o of internati nal pol cy p blem with rega d t regi nal pa ts a d the ecurity ce the second wo ld war has created a veritabl

I general regionalism t ds to p ov ke a pir t of pol ti al ex lus vism n omp tible with the eeds of internati nal co-operat o regi nal greeme ts t eglect th ir internati nal bl gat ons Moreover this system is lik ly t encourag the f rmat n f hostile blocs a s tuati n h ghly unfa ourable to th m int na of pea and to nd e the gnat ry states to

As egards their effect on the fun t n ng of the Un ted N ti ns regi nal pacts n sp t f th p ovis ns f Art cles 52 53 and 54 of th Charter do n t ppea very lik ly t assut th O gan t n in its task of ensuring ternational security Reg onal rganizati ns h uld un e th will t power based on the tech que of spheres f infl en Th ir util ty with egard to llecti e ecurity seems to res de ma nly in th rgani equil b um, whi h inev tably nd ti ns the pol tical strategy

WRIGHT (Q.) Ec n mi and P l tical Condit ns f W ld Stab l ty *The Journal f Ec nomic H t ry* 3(4) a tumn 9 3 p 363 77
Whereas th ni tee th century was peaceful prosperous and democratic, the twent th e tury whi h is nfi t ly m e marked by bloodshed is chara ter zed by p ogress in technol y nd o ga izat n

Th modern w ld ems capabl f tw k ds f equil brium pur ly tatist cal d inhuma —ca be maintained n th p esent system of nt r nati nal el t ns In d t ach ev th seco d men in th ir ff rts to establish an inter ti nal oc ty must espe t everal fundamental princ ples In ge er l wo ld tab l ty w ll be establ h d nly if ec n m cs and pol tics—two doma ns requ rin radically d ffer t m th ds f rganizat n—remai as ind pendent f ea h other as poss bl M P t cul ly d in th immediate futur the United Nat ons will be bl t carry ut its w k f internati nal tab l ty only if ts agents rema n f ee f om ll p es ur by M mb States d if ll th great wo ld powers represented in it

ORMESS N (W d) Les trad ti ns du m d tu l *Ra gna Italia d P litic d Cult* 3 (319) D 953 p 507 21
Th ns q es f th tw w ld wars trikingly llustr t the princ pl that modern w rf is ev l ti n ry wh eas pea is c nservat Th tw confli ts have gi en ris t p l ta liz t wh ch has epla d th bourgeois ci ilizati n of th ni eteenth nt ry Since 919 th ppli ati n f the principl of national ties d f th right f th peoples to g ern themsel es has p ked an outburst of natio-nalism. M n tary nstab l ty wh h creates eco omic nstability an unparall led sp t f in nt ns d the bol t on f distan e ha also contrib ted to the fundam tal tr nsf rm t f hab ts d customs that has been taking pl ce bef re ur eyes W ld p bl ms e exp essed n rad cally different terms their solut ns must be ought th int rnat onal plane T whatever co tradictions t may be ubject, ternati l l darity has becom a categorical imper ti e of the modern

world One of the most urgently needed ways of giving expression to it would be the establishment of an international demographic relief fund that would enable the world's population to be more rationally distributed

ALEXANDROWICZ ALEXANDER (C H) Vertical and Horizontal Divisions of the International Society *The Indian Yearbook of International Aff* Diocesan Press 1952 3 p 88-96
By h-
natı
of T by vertical co-operat on
he r the international sphere International co-operation would be impossible if there were no common functional interests which can be effectively protected only by specialized agencies It is true that action by states can help to ensure economic and social progress on the international plane but it is the horizontal activity of international organizations that must give the greatest results. In this respect the author regrets that international events of a political nature seem more important than the constructive work of the Specialized Agencies The necessary suppression of certain vertical barriers certainly involves risks but private initiative must succeed in dispelling the fears of the politicians It therefore seems desirable that there should be a more limited form of autarchy to permit of a favourable evolution of the economic relations between states

LEONTIEV (B) Meždunarodnoe sotrudničestvo i mir (International co-operation and peace) *Novy Mir* 12 1953 p 208 17
The author discusses the problem of the maintenance of peace with special emphasis on the necessity of establishing peace between th
Soviet countries have acquired the right to b
no other country can overlook this fact part of his study co-operation between the five great powers on the Security Council The unanimity principle is the only one that leads to the peaceful solution of all international problems without prejudice to the interests of any nation. The accusations made by the United States against the U S S R with regard to the so-called abuse of the veto are not justified In fact as the solutions recommended by the United States directly menace the security of the Soviet countries the latter are entitled to defend that security by all lawful means However the problems that have been left in abeyance could be rapidly settled if the United States agreed to a reasonable discussion without opposing *a priori* every form of compromise Lastly the author warns against recourse to a policy of force any state resorting to such a policy would be denounced and would have to fight alone In conclusion the author contrasts the attitude of the U S A — Aggressors in Korea —and that of the U S S R which is resolved to safeguard peace

THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL

JEBB (SIR G) The Free World and the United Nations *Foreign Affa* 31(3) April 1953 p 382-91
There can be no question of a comparison between the present situation of the United Nations and that of the League of Nations when confronted with the Axis powers The issue here is the rivalry between two blocs each of which comprises third of the world's population As long as men of the Stalinist type predominate it will not be possible to speak of collective security

It is no less certain that if the Soviet Union were excluded from the UN the latter would be reduced in practice to the nations at present belonging to the Pan American Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—organization which are

undoubtedly mo e firmly established tha th UN tself Howeve the role that th UN can pl y m th event f wars of ggress on is by no means negl gibl c llect ve d f e c ld be organized by th General Ass mbly n the basis f the 'Uniting f Peace Resol tion m eo er the poss bil ties of the peac ful s ttlement of a confl ct could be expl ted t the t most. In general n p te of th disappo tments wh ch ts eti ties h p o oked th existence of the UN is till ital in order to convinc th eco m cally underdev loped ntries that th dea that the 'Western Imperialists are hostil t ards them is o ly a myth.

BENUMEYA (Rod lf G l) Es c y trayect ria d l bloque africano-asiat co (Nature and activity f the Africano-As at bloc) *Cuaderno d Estudio Africano* Decem ber 1953 24 p 9-2

Th Afr c As n bloc which was const t ted in 1951 p oved particul rly effecti e during th f urth ess n f the Un ted Nations General Assembly Animated by a mm deal of self-d terminat n th countries belonging to this bloc combat all f rms f lonization o trusteeship on th principle that all peoples re ent tled to go ern thems l es Th Afri Asiati bloc has gr wn up around the nu leus formed by th Arab Le gue, a d this gives it cohes n and makes it ware of the eff cacy of oncerted action n the international plan At the UN G neral Assembly it won the pport f the So th American c untries which while f ll wing n independent pol cy ha e imila interests to defend There is thus bei g f rmed a group f countries es l ed t defend th ghts f the mall o med um tates and representative enough t hamp on th dema ds f the col u ed races Th influen e of the Af c As atic bloc n internat nal pol cy p rticula ly duri g the discuss on f quest ons concerning N rth Africa, howed th t the great powers must hencef rth reck n w th this g oup of mall tates

E. B 'Th E ghth Assembly f th United N u ns *World Today* 10 (2) February 954, p o-80

The ghth sess n f the U ted N t ons Ge eral Assembly was the f rst to be held after th Korean rmistic and the death f Stal nd it was therefore expected that ns derabl p ogress w uld be mad t wa ds th sol tion of th main nternati nal p oblems I f t, lth gh ts esults were n t entirely negat ve this ess on d d not fulfil th hopes pla ed in t, d ny p ogress achieved if n t entirely illusory was the fruit f l g a d bes ta t ff rts Th sam umber f peeches and the sam flow of rat ry as during th p vious ess ns were devoted by th Assembly to Ko ea Ger many d Austria as w ll as t ther causes of internati nal tens n—but the Korean p blem was left in beya c Likewis p t fr m the importa c attached t Pres dent Eis nh wer ddress n at mi energy the tw f damental q est ns of general pol cy—disarmament and th evis on f th Ch rter—wer practically neglected by th General Assembly

T RMANN (G) 'N t ns Unies Eisenh wer posé le p blèm anéantissement ou p grès ocial *Labor* 26(6-7) Dec. 1953 J n. 1954 p 141 46

Th most important event of th ghth ess n f the United N tions General Assembly was und btedly P es d nt Eisenhower s dd ess on the f tur dev lopment f atomic energy Th ttenti pa d t th P es dent gr v nd sin ere words howed that the ld wa a d th rmaments ra e a till th main p occupat n in the international sphere.

Conseq ently th q estion of disarmament occup ed n important pl ce n the discuss ns el t g t th establishment f pecial fund for the economi devel pment of und rdev l ped untries in the financing f this f nd eemed closely bound p with th ed t of expend tur n rmaments As t the work of the Third Committee oc l human tarian nd cultural questi ns t was characterized by the hab tual and useless rat cal disp tes between the Uni n f So et Socialist Republ cs d th cap talist countries with eg rd to the tw questi ns of f ced labou and prison rs f wa

DULLES (F) United Nations Charter Review *Department of State Bulletin* 30(,62) 1 Feb 1954 p 170-73
It must be admitted that the great hopes placed in the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 have not been fully realized This is due in the first place to the fact that these were largely excessive and also to the attitude of the Communist bloc. Nevertheless the United Nations has achieved considerable results in Korea it offered the first real collective resistance to armed aggression it has endeavoured to replace the colonial system by self government it has succeeded in promoting the econom c and social progress of a large part of the world s population lastly the General Assembly has acted as an international forum of [illegible]
In short the main weakness of the O [illegible]
enables the Soviet Union to paralys [illegible]
it seems that the following points [illegible]
nature of the Organizat on contr[illegible]
Gener[illegible]
adopt[illegible]
law [illegible]
Unitec [illegible] international organization
at all [illegible]

DAWSON (K H) 'The United Nations in a D sunited Wo ld *World P* [illegible]
Jan 1954 p 209 35
The cause of [illegible]
in the inadeq [illegible]
shortcomings [illegible]
Nations have [illegible]
[illegible] the departure of the [illegible] and p obably of a certain number of so-called neutral members and this would entail the dissolution of the organization and its re establishment on a new basis Whatever may be the olution afforded by history to this dilemma the fact rema ns that the United Nations in sp te of its shortcom ngs represents by the co-operation of the Member States of its Special zed Agencies a remarkable attempt to effect a more equitable distribution of the world s material resources among the various nat ons includ ng the less favoured ones

GROSS (E A) Revis ng the Cha ter Is it possible Is it wise *F eign Affa rs* 32(2) Jan 1954 p 203 16
The Charter lays down two essential purposes for the Un ted Nat ons to mainta n international peace and security and promote the conditions of well be ng and security necessary for the development of peaceful and f iendly relations between the nat ns of the world However it now appears that these a ms can no longer be ach eved without a revision of the Un ted Nations Charter The conference that will ha e to be held in order to carry out this task will have th ee d[illegible]
to effect a purely techn[illegible]
to expel the Soviet Un[illegible]
contrary to the interest [illegible] w th a p opaganda role i e with being a kind of p[illegible]e conference in the midst of the cold wa Moreover t e main problems to be discussed seem to be disarmament the lim ts of the d mest jurisdiction of States and the cho ce of the character (univers l o elect) to be given to the Organizat on The other problems such as the contr l of the veto d t e altera tion of the voting system at the General As embly a e n f ct rather secondary T e American Constitut on shows that every const tut n must be flex ble if t is to la t It is des rable therefore that the United Nations Charter should also be of th natu e

MA so (M J) La R f rma d la Carta de la O N U y l t (The ref rm of the United N tions Cha te a d th vet) *Jus d Jur O bus 2* 5 J n 1954 p 46-57
Orig lly established in der to c nsol dat the nity f the B g Th ee th eto has p dly bec m f the fi e perma t m mbers of the Secu ty Co n l a c nven nt means f p ralys g th General Ass mbly a d prevent ng the p oper f ct o g f th United N t ns The existen of the t p events *a pri ri* a y erious revis n of the Charter d th dmiss n t the Orga izat of y ew m mber There e th ee poss bl s l ti ns the ma tenanc f th *status qu* the bol t n f the veto co tr l A clos examination f the Cha ter uggests that t would be ad isable t make a disti ction between questi ns f p oced which w ld only equ e 7 votes a d q estions of bstan whi h wo ld eq ir 10 tes n order to be settled by th Secu rity Coun il A clause uld be adopted hereby n t ons v t ng ga nst h decis ns w uld t be bound by them

RUDZINSKI (A. W) Domesti Jurisd ction in Un ted States Pract ce *Ind Q arterly* 9(4) Oct. D c 1953 p 313 54
The S Fran isco Conferen cons dered t necessary to l mit the United N t ons field f tivities t matters falling outs de th d mesti jurisd ct of Member States I pr cti this limit t n has not been lea ly en h defined pa t cul ly in th case f the Uni of S th Africa and France Act on by th United N t ons is imposs ble if p ticula matter falls within th d mesti jurisd ct n f o of the tates oncerned if h t o w uld constitute n int rve t on in th sense i d cated in Art cle 2 paragraph 7 f the Cha ter Thus t is essent al t d termin whi h matters f ll with n th d mesti jurisdicti f a stat —a fundame tal quest on wh ch g ves rise to in essa t disp tes between the Arab-Asiatic bloc a d the col n z powers

Mo ow (W) Observati ns ur l ffair des fo t o na es américa ns c ngédiés pa l Secrétaire Gé éral à la dema d du gou ernem nt des États Unis *P l t que t gèr* 6 Jan 1954 p 501 21
An examinati n f th Un ted N ti ns Cha ter d of th staff egul t ons adopted by th General Assembly 2 F bruary 1952 shows that th legal s t u n of Un ted Nat ns ff ials is based essentially on the dependen e *is à vis* th governments of Member States nd th curity f th ir employment Th opin n given n 29 November 952 by the Committe f Jurists et p t tudy th case of the off ials dismissed by th S tary-Gener l is pen t cr t ism in ma y espects It is based n th prin cipl that th l k lihood of a tern t l ffi al engag g in ub ers act t es gainst th host untry is uffi ent t justify his dismiss l Owing to ts complete la k f bjectivity this ters whi h was nevertheless in ked in th Secr tary General decis w ld if maintained creat insurmountabl difficult es M eover the op n on f th j rists nd th m asures tak n by the S cretary Gener l a e n flagra t contra di ti w th th United N t ns Charter nd the principles p ocla med n Art cles 10 nd of th Uni ersal Decl rati f Human Rights If the new Secr tary Ge eral wishes t d l w ri g the p estig of th Sec etariat y f rther h must c mply with th j dgment gi n by the United N t ons Administ t T bunal o 1 Sep t mber 953 f ll wi g the ppeal by th dismissed ffci ls a d red es the err rs al eady mm tted

KAYS R (J) Les p blèmes d l information deva t les N t ons Unies—le pport d M Lopez dress bilan t nst tu n base de départ *Étud d p* V(8) winter 9 3 p 29 3 5
I 952 M S l ad Lopez delegat fo the Phil ppines was nstructed t ubm t t th Eco mi a d Social Coun il ec mm ndati ns ega d g pract cal ti n whi h might be tak n by the Council in rder to urm unt those bsta les t the fuller enjoyment f f eed m f inf rmati n whi h can be urmounted at the p ese t tum I an hist cal introd ti th *pporteur* emphas es in part cula that the intens ficati f th ld wa has tr b ted t the f ilure f the ttempt t cure the internati nal org nizati f f ed m f nf rmati n His nalysis f the p rticula

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LERICHE (A.) Les missions permanentes auprès de l Organisation des Nations Unies *Revue de Droit International de Sciences diplomatiques et politiques* 31(4) Oct Dec 1953 p 406-11

Although only the States represented on the Security Council are obliged by the United Nations Charter to mainta n a permanent representative at the Organization s headquarters it has become a pract ce for Member States to appoint permanent missions in spite of the fact that there is no obligation o
matter The credentials of thes
tary C
as the
main
that o is to ensure l aison with their
respec to ensure continu ty between the various sessions of the Assembly and the Councils This of course does not excl d
and heads of government

I et Union Française *Marches c lon aux du monde* 10(4 8) 23 January 1954 p 181 84

The fundamental task of the United Nations Fourth Comm ttee on Trusteesh
ensure the appl cation of Article 76 of th
in the admin
respect Unfo
try to create p
of the unificat
have provided th are non-existent study of them has merely e wo k of the Administering Authorit es Apart from this blameworthy attitude and the ob ious abuse of the right of pet tion the Fourth Com mittee is tending more and more to exceed ts o g nal terms of reference. For instance it has established a Committee on Information f om Non self-governing Territo es and the *ad hoc* Committee on Factors (Non self govern ng Terr tories) whose inter vent ons are l kely to complicate still further the task of the Adm nistering Authorities The committee maintains qu te unreasonably ts demands for self government and independence without tak ng gress or the wishes of the
p the dismemberment of
t Nations

Proposition relative à la création d un Fonds spéc al des Nations Un es po r le déve loppement économ que *Commission des Caraïbes Bullet n mensu l d formatio* 7(3) Oct 1953 p 12 and 13

A comm ttee appointed by the Secretary
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su that the developm t of these
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co considerably assisted by the add t onal contribution of non-commer

cial cap tal in th form f subventions lo g term loans at low nterest Th methods f financing and administeri g th fund wh ch e defined i the general recommen dations c tained in the report, e based on the pr nciple of trustf l rel t ns between th governments c ncerned—relations des gned to imp ove the well be ng of the whole population.

RATNA RAO (T S) I dia d the United N ti ns *The Ind an Yearbook of I tern tional Affai* 952 M dras D ocesa Press 1952 53 p 246-57

India, whi h was o of the original s gnatories t the S n Francisco Co ference to the United N t ons Charter has always attached ons derable importance t the Un ted N ti ns where it play a vital role. An intermediary between the great powers and hosen as mediat f r the settlement of disputes it has helped in part cula to secure cease fire in Korea a d to ensure the maintenance f peace Am g the vari us rgans of the United N tions I dia attributes particula mportance to the Trusteeship Co cil Its ep esentati es the council have adopted a clearly marked titude in fa our f th independence of the peoples of trust terr tories They have maintained that all trusteeship agreements come within the jurisd ti n of the inter nati nal ganizati and that the sovereignty of the territories in q esti n belongs neither t th powers espe ti ely respons ble for their administration nor to the international ganizati b t t th peoples themsel es Lastly they hav insistently requested that ll h greements h uld provide definit time l mit for the termina ti f the trusteeship a d the gra ting of dependen e Bes des d fend ng the ove eignty f th ari us peoples India has also champ oned human rights f m the stand point of th ind vidual It is opposed t th aparthe d pol cy dopted by the Un on of So th Africa nd, alth gh its eff ts hav t always been essf l it t ll ha f th in th efficacy d util ty f the United N t ons nd its Specialized Agencies

THE INTERN TIONAL LAW COMMISSION

HE TZ (W G) D e A beit n der Internati nal n Re htskommiss on der Vereinten N tio en (Th w k f th United N ti ns Internati nal Law Commiss o) *Friedens W rte* 52(1) 9 3 p 9-47

Th I tern t onal Law Commiss o was established by a de is n taken by the United N ti ns General Assembly n 21 Novembe 1947 In acc da ce with its tatute th mmiss n consists f 5 members f different ti nalit es chosen f om mo g distinguished expe ts o the Law of N tions The commiss o was entrusted with the dev lopment and odificat o of internat onal law a d for each of these tasks d fferent w k g m thods wer prescribed by its t tut Amo g th results ch eved by th commiss o e 1949 menti must be mad of th f ll wi g drawing up of a d l ti of th rights a d d t es f tates drafti g f th Nuremberg prin ples rvey f th poss bil ties f establishin n Internati nal Criminal Court p eparation f Draft Cod f Offen es gainst th Peac a d Security f Ma kind tudy of th definiti f aggress d examinati n f p oblems elati g to stat less pers ns Whatever criti ism may be lev lled ga nst many of th mmiss s decis ons th w k mpl hed by its m mbers h ws them t be emi ent ju ists nd distinguished citiz ns of th world

ROBLEMS O INTERN TIONAL LA

KO ARNICKI (T) Th Pr blem f Neutral ty under the United N t ns Charter *The G t us Soci ty T ansactions for the y 952 P blems f P blic and Pri I ter national Law* G t us Soc ty 952 v l 38 p 77-91

At present, neutral ty does n t aff d d quat guara tees to a y nat on that th nde pe denc d tegrity of its t rritory will be espected Analysing ternati nal pra t th B ia d K ll g P ct th th h ws th t neut lity is n t the consequen f a unilateral ct but depends th ecogn t o by th bell gerent tates of th bst t n d mp rtial ty f th neutral stat The dea of non bell

gerence must satisfy similar condit ons Nevertheless confusion reigns in h c
very often the relations between belligerent and n
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of war The resulting
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E c inefficacy of the principle of neutrality is undermined by the concept of non bell the field of inter
which it should provide against aggression renders illusory the protection

CASTBERG (Frede) L influence du Dro
temps *Gegenwa tsprobleme des internati*
1953 p 53 63 8vo
The au h d
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Legislative meas
but in the field of external policy app eu in all civilized countries in time of peace security of states
motives tending to ensure the security and peace of states international rules are frequently sacr ficed to
contrary to the law In fact numerous legal provisions in conditions which are
reasons impairments of a la norm n

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FREEMAN (Harrop A) Some Front ers for International Administrative Law ideas are accepted as val d
Indian Yea book of International Affa rs 195 Madras D ocesan Press 1952 53 p 46-64 *The*
The development of international administrations even more than that of pol tical
organ zations const tutes a functional approach to peace In f ct these first must
gradually settle the international problems that d vide states After defending this
argument the author exam nes the activ ties of the I al Monetary Fund
He shows that this Special zed
e recommendat ons
Thus to a certa n
cs are l m ted by the concept of exclus ve jurisdict on ment oned in all the Un ted Nations political organs
paragraph 7 of Article of the Charter The author recommend th
a special zed agency pro ded with ex
and atom f
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pow ers
insolubl
tive law will enable a pract cal solut on to be f und hopes that the progress of international adm istra at the present time rai e

KHALDER NAVAZ (Mahomed) Cr m nal Jur sdict on and Int rnat onal L *Th*
Indian Yea book f Internatio l Aff 195 Madras D ocesan P ess 19 2 53
p 210-17
The author analyses from the po nt of v ew of International La the pro ons of
the Indian penal code of 1860 He shows th t the princ pl of
of all state jurisdiction An offen
puni hed in accordance with
bet een nat onals and foreign
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however th t ther are numerous t lects f ts constitut ve elements He emphasizes ence mu t be con
becaus of internat onal imm n t es except ons t these rules of jurisd ct tate practice e th r

KESVA RAO (C) Ci il Jurisd ct and I ternat onal Law *The Indian Y arbook f International Aff* 952 M dras D ocesan P ess 19 2 53 p 218-28
Th tat has supreme tho ty J risd cti n to c tr l ll pers ns and p operty within ts terr torial limits It cannot however extend its j isd t beyond the th rized limits a d in p rt cula can ot v olate the rules f internat nal la Thus t can t exercise ts jurisd cti over persons a d things with wh ch it ha no c cern In this espect th l w ppl ed by the Ind n trib l hand n th princip! of effect enes
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J risdict n. H p ias es i particul n l t rritory is subject to the n t onal bliges th gnat ry tates t espect the f ndamental r ghts of m t ere a e ex eptions th espe t territor es th t th Indo-P k ta T eaty f 1950 t es l ving on

PASIN COSTADO (Ca los Albert) El esp o ereo (dominium ca l) (Ai pace) *Revista d l Inst t t d Derecho I ternacional* 1952 no 16 p 43-68
Is pa divided between th respecti jurisdi t ons of the va ous states or is t f ee spa tiliz bl by ircraft f all national t es The a thor crit cizes the theory f ir ones pl ci g rta port ns f ir sp c nder th sover gnty f a particula tat by nalogy w th t rr torial p Ai pa must be f ee in the same way as the high eas in maritime law It is true that the Chicago Conve ti n, in cogni ing the dea of er gnty er ertain ir zo es eems t be nspired by th idea that a r pace bel gs t th tat b t this doctrin is val d only p t ertain alt tud Referri g to P F hill theory the a tho maintains that ir pace is perfectly f ee bo e this altit d It ca t be ass mil ted to territory s nce t cannot be made th bject f material pos ess on. Thus p bo n altitud f 1 500 m hould c nstitut lin f mmunicat n whi h is t subject to th s p eme a thority f tates How er this dea whi h is based on l w has ot been g ven pract cal appl cat n the internati nal pl d th dea of ght f way" ti ues t be epted by all nati ns

M RE A Q L TANA (L.) El ma ual d Oxf rd y la guerra maritima (The Oxford manual d maritim wa) *Revista del Inst t t d Der ho Internacional* 1952 n 16 p 7 18
This ma ual pp oved by the Inst tute of Internat nal Law in O tober 1913 is of doctrin l terest f th tudy f th l ws lating t mar tim wa between states Af analys g th nd t ns in wh h th m nual was drafted th uth exami es ts doctrinal val d truct e. H lls th tw interp etations gi en to the manual by p bl ists S m ha ma tained that ts rules pply ly t th high seas th rs ffirm, th trary that these rules ar ls ppl cabl t territ rial wat rs I te nati l pra t h ws th t th rules f th ma l ha be n ppl ed n gulfs and b ys especi lly with ega d the captu e f essels H wev thus s mply hows the ceed f ha g g th rules in d to mak th m conf rm m losely t geograph cal d pra tic l ealities Consequently f m th l gal po t of ew th autho ag ees w th thos wh f ou th first interp etat n In c n lus n h emphas es that in

spite of the differences of opinion among the publicists all the rules of the manual have been universally recognized thus making it one of the first bodies of regulations for the conduct of war to be accepted on the international plane

REITH (Charles) International Authority and the Enforcement of Law *The Grotius Society Transactions for the year 1952 Problems of Public and Private Intern* Grotius Society vol 38 1952 p 100 21

The employment of —
international plan ... tes in
support of his arg ... e fact that special conditions must
exist before military orces can go into action—in part cular a decision h ... be —
by an international organization Further the ...
been drawn ...
The est
advant
difficult
the outb
armaments
special body
officials The
this solution which wou ... e international organizat on
and give it the real force ... it now lacks

INTERNATIONAL PENAL LAW

SOTTILE (A) Le Pape Pie XII et le Droit pénal internat onal ... *national de Sciences d plomatiqu*

The establishment of an Interna ...
but useful and necessary Its e ...
likely disturber of world peace ... destined to settle the problem
—hitherto unsolved—of defining agg ess on Likewise a penal code is necessary for the repression of international crimes

The Un ted Nat ons must cons der the establishment of this court and the drafting of this code as one of its most urgent tasks Up to the present a large number of distinguished jurists have supported these arguments Pope P us XII completely concurred with them in his add ess to the International Congress of Penal Law on 3 October 1953 in Rome After emphasiz ng the importance of international penal law in the modern world the Pope enumerated a number of offences which should be punished in accordance with an internat onal penal code and defined the foundations of such a code as well as the guarantees wh ch nternat onal penal proced re must offer to the accused

GOLDENBERG (A V) Le Droit pénal et la Communauté Européenne de Défense *R e Internat onal de Police crim nelle* 9(75) Feb 1954 p 46-48

Those provisions relating to penal law in the Europe ...
deserve to be better know ...
this subject First of all it
of internat onal penal law
Commun ty being instruct ...
all actions undertaken b

c ...
of international pol ce co
mental p nciples wh ch ...
lat on will have to guarant

HUMAN RIGHTS

WEGNER (Arthur) D e Stellu g der Einzelperson im gegen (The status of th individual in modern *internationalen Rechte und der Rechtsphilos ph*

The umber of ref gees a d displaced pers co d ct f the war have made it necessary to defin the rights of the ind vidual on the international pla This eed was met by the Universal Declarat on of H man Rights adopted in December 1948 a d the Geneva Co e t ns on the treatment of prisoners f wa and the p t ction f civilia pers ns time of war dopted in August 1949 Th auth tes however that there is no p rallel recognit n of the d t es of man. The latter co cept must be defined part cularly with regard to its war t me appl cat on so that the cond ct of hostil ties does not viol te th rules based on the f nd mental principles of internat onal law Consequently t is necessary to def ne thes pri ciples th egard t f categories f legal rders that f th d vid al e the doma n f private law that f th tat e the d ma n of publ c law that f community groups a d lastly that of sp ritual val es and the Churches All thes legal orders must be based n th r cogn tio of the ghts and duties of man, n all f elds P ecis limits must theref e be set to tate t on, e ther by the establishm nt of procedures f di g wars if thus does n t p s ccessf l by impos ng rules f th co duct f wa ts lf

UHLER (Oscar M) La pers huma dans l IV Con ent n de Genèv *Revu ternationale d la C ix Ro g* Jan. 1954, p 11 24

Th th exami es Arti le 27 f the F rth Geneva Con enti p tect f vilia persons tim of wa Th c enti n tip lates that ll persons p tected by t hall be treated human ly in corda e with the fundamental r ghts nd f eed ms f ma re gnized by The Hagu regulat ns In this respect t requires th t tates hall t nly efra n f m certain p oh b ted a ts but h ll take teps to p ev t th rs fr m esortin to s h cts nd hall also assist th v ctims Thes p vis ns pply in part cula to th tr tment of women who gi en special p tecti n. Th tho emphas es th fa t that the ti n excl des racial rel gious pol tical discriminati b t h dmits that eservat ons m ght be i trod ed to en bl cessary measures t be taken fo th duct of wa and th ecurity of the tat H wever thes eservat ns must ema exceptions to the rul and the ndispen bl measures ad pted f thes reas ns must ot vi l t th f d mental rights ecognized by th e t o

TECH CA ASSISTANCE

J U E (R) L assista t hniq aux p y sous-développés ous les ausp ces de l O N U *Revue d Sciences é nom que* 28(96) Dec 1953 p 221 40

Wh eas th first t hnical assista ce progr mm was to be fina ced l ly out of the d nary b dg t f the United N ti ns th E p nded P ogramme f T chnical Ass tance draws its funds fr m pool mad up of dd ti nal co t buti ns by th United N t ns Member States These funds a d trib ted am g th United Nat ons d th Specialized Agen es which in their especti fi lds o-operat n the comm task, whi h is to h lp underdev loped countries t btain th greatest poss ble material d social benef t f m an deq t t chnical nd co m devel pment This ass ta whi h takes ari us f rms is des gned t put end to th ma n weaknesses f thes ountr es th ir p ed minantly gricultur l ec my low w ges and mall p od t vity d low g expectat n f lif W thin th egi nal and th internati nal econ mi framew k g us ct n must p m te rap d p ogress capabl f exceeding the increas n popul t To that ffect ll nat ns must upport th fforts f internati nal organizati ns n f u f n equitabl l o f the p bl ms f p od ct o distrib ti nd onsumption

MENDÈS FRANCE (P) L Assistance aux pays sous-dé lopp
Française et Parlement 5(4?) P

C
t
c mply in relation to local
p e efforts must be concentrated on the development of
ir u al production agricultural production must increase more rapidly than the population this is a vital point Again technical assistance must not be exclusively economic a considerable part of it must be in the form of
of living and cultural standards
expansion Special efforts must
number of experts needed for c is to be hoped that these efforts by the United Nat favour of underdeveloped countries will be successful other nations will also derive immense collective benefit from them

L Assistance technique aux pays sous-développés *Bulletin du Conseil National du Patronat français* 8(116) 5 March 1954 p 13 18
Granted their fundamental purpose which is to provide the beneficiary countries with the basic elements of modern civilization technical assistance pla
ever closer relations between the well
this is a n
The prog expert missions and the training of ed countries—are already numerous The Point Four programme the foundations of which were laid by President Truman in 1949 has already made it possible to achieve considerable results although the projects contained in it are by their very nature long term projects The United Nations Technical Assistance Programme benefits by the financial contributions of all Member States and the co-operation of all Specialized Agencies Its budget increases every year and projects requiring new methods of international financing are under consideration In addition to these two plans there are the Colombo Plan and the French bilateral system of technical assistance French industrialists should realize that their duty as well as their interest enjoins them to take an ever larger part in the technical assistance programmes

KARIUS (A) Weniger Illusionen uber unterentwickelte Gebiete (Fewer illusions about underdeveloped countries) *Der Volksw* 18(11) 13 March 1954 p 16-17
Considerable illusions are at present entertained with regard to underdeveloped countries In the first place President Truman s Point Four is not just another Marshall Plan on behalf of these countries but simply a program
Further even if a more
within the framework of
those generally anticipat oped countries
are not only new' but he abundance
The problems
ted by demographic pressure which
ases when the standard of life is raised and usually tends to off
results achieved in the economic field Indu
in itself it must be preceded by the rational
Only then and provided it is cautious a
produce the desired results

DREYER (J J) 'The Economic Development of Underdeveloped Colonial Territories in Africa *Commerce and Industry* 12(3) Nov 1953 p 131 39
Numerous factors have contributed to the development of underdeveloped territories in Africa The second world war which obliged the Allied Powers to seek elsewhere the raw materials they could no longer find in the East led to the first serious efforts toward the economic development of these territories After the war the col

powers tı ed these ff rts ın rd t ed th gap n the bal e of p yments The demand f raw materials ncreas g as nternat onal t ns n grew had mu h the sam result. At the same tım th nternational o ga ızatı ns a d the United States wer undertaking sy temat c programmes of devel pment whı h h had a decıs v ffect Neverth less ser ous probl ms tıll rema n to be solved ın p t f the f nds prov ded by th M tual Security Agency a d the Internat onal Bank f n tı n and Dev l pment Af ca co t nues to suffer f — this tu tı n will be remed ed
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p od ced abund nt

BALAKRISNA (Dr R) 'U derdev lopment. A World Econom c Liab l ty *The Indian Y arbook f I ternational Aff* 952 Madras D ocesan Press 1952 53 p 6 77

Th underdevel ped ountries of As and th M ddle East a e affected by a dynam c f to th cons derable and regula increase of their populat on Thus f ctor hould h lp t ensur th econ mic dev lopment b t th wa which led to th ndependence als caused d turb es n the d mest c pol tıcs and the result g ınstab l ty ham pered their ndustrialization nd agricult ral p od ct vıty Th Asıat c has obl gations d l gıous a d m ral tradıt ons which ender hım hostile t the material asp rat ons f th Westerner Theref e the means employed to r medy this s tuat on must n t destroy th tradıt nal social structures It ıs essential however th t th tate should carry t mp rtant ec omic ef rms As privat ınıtıatı e ıs often very ınadequat the tat must establish pl ns fo nvestm nts a d d pt regulations likely to p omote on mı dev l pment. Neverth less t would be us les to think of undertaking this expans without f gn d Conseq ently nternat nal nstıtut ons Point Fou nd th Col mbo Pl n, h an mporta t p rt to play Underdeveloped countries thus nst tut experimental field f ternatı nal co-operat on and ı tervent on by the tat th e mı f ld

TRUST TERRIT IES

CURCI (Ca l) Il p blem l nıale (The lo ıal p oblem) *Stud pol tıcı* Year II nos 3 4 Sept 953 F b 1954 p 462 79

Th S F cıs Conf en dealt th final blow t the great colonial emp es wh ch had l dy been ns derably haken by the wa In f t, the United N tı ns Charter l ys d wn p ecıs rules f th cont l f n -self-g v rning territories and establ hes a Trusteesh p Coun ıl whı h ıs ntıtled t accept and xamı e pet t ns by the peoples f thes territories S ppo ted by all th tates th t r hostıl to th v rıous forms f l nıal m espe ıally the As tı cou tries no -s lf governing terrıt ries are therefor gradually hıevıng depe d n

A rd g to th thor th United States has played a vital part n thıs ev l tıon rad cally ppos d t the trad t nal l nı l pol cy t has upported the aspirations of ll tates e dea g t f ee thems l es from th t usteesh p exercised by th adm nıs-tering powers Thus the ncept f col y has lmost f llen out f us nd deas which wer nı ersally epted t th end f the ınetee th century ega d g th con ex on betwee col nızatı n d the p ogress f c ılızation and the part played by mıs-es f m highly-dev l ped countries ould not be exp essed today without a us ng th l liest protest It ıs t nly the dea f colonızat n ts lf that has been discredited, b t also th l es th Western states ep es nt. Animated by pırıt of aggress e nat nal m tates that ha ently q ed their ı dependen e pposed to the Eur pea f rm f vılızat n, whı h they J ct as wh l without trying t understand t. H wever th p blem f th ec mic dev lopment f non-s lf go ernıng erritories cannot be l ed with ut o-oper t b tween f lly dev loped states and

MENDÈS FRANCE (P) L Assistance aux pays sous-développés (Le Po nt IV) 7
Française et Parlement 5(47) Feb 1954 p 3 5
Certain fundamental pr –
techn cal assistance In programme must be
conceived in relation to y n general and not simply in relation to local
problems Moreover not all the efforts must be concentrated on the developmen of
industr al production agricultural production must s
population this is a vital no
e or

is to be hoped that
t in favour of underdeveloped countr es will be
s other nations will also derive immense collective benefit from them

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ever closer relations between h
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Assistance Pr e nancial contr but ons of all Member States
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DREYER (J J) The Econom c Development of Underdeveloped Colon al Terr tories in Africa *Co merce and I dustry* 12(3) Nov 1953 p 131 39
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powers c u ed thes eff ts in order to ed the gap n ther b la ce of paym nts Th dema d f w materials ncreasing as internat nal tens on grew had much the same result. At th m tim th nternat nal organizati ns a d the United States were und rtaking systemati p ogrammes f devel pment which ha e had a decis ve ff t Neverth less cri us p bl ms till emai to be solved in p t of th f nds p o ded by th M tual Security Ag cy nd the Internat nal Bank for Rec nstruc ti n d Dev l pment Africa co t nues t uffer f m a great hortag f capital and this tuati w ll be remed ed only by a c ns derable increase in pri at investments Geographical f ctors (the inhosp table b nks f ri ers that a e ra ely navigable) as w ll as huma f tors (trop cal diseases a d th psych logy of the nat ves) cre te p oblems that just as difficult t o ercome However the efforts already made by the colonial powers— d more p ticula ly th Union of South Africa—ha e p od ced abundant results as th tatistics how

BALAKRISNA (Dr R) Underdevelopment. A World Economic Liab l ty *The Indian Y book f I ternational Aff* 1952 Madras D ocesan P ess 1952 53 p 65 77

Th underdev l ped untries f As and the M ddl East a e affected by a dynamic f t th cons derable nd egul increas of the population This fa tor hould help t ensure th ir eco m dev lopm nt b t the war which led to their independenc lso caused disturb es in th ir domest c pol tics a d the result ng instabil ty ham pered th dustrializati n a d agricultural p oducti ity The Asiatic has bl gat ons d l gious nd m ral traditi ns which der him hostil to th material asp at ons f the Westerner Therefo th means employed to remedy this s tuat on must not destroy th trad t nal social stru tures It is essential h wever that the state h uld carry t importa t ec omi ref rms As private in tuati e is often very nadequate the tat must establish pl ns f nvestments nd dopt regulations lik ly to p omot ec mi development Neverth less t would be useless t think of u dertaking this expans n witho t f eign aid Conseq e tly i ternatio al nstituti ns, Po t Four nd th Col mbo Pl n, ha an mportant part t play Underdeveloped countries thus nstitut experimental field for ntern ti nal co-operat on and intervention by the tat in the mu f ld

TRUST TERRITORIES

CURCI (Ca l) Il p bl ma l niale (The olon al p blem) *St d p l tici* Yea II os 3 4 Sept. 953 F b 1954 p 462 79

Th S Fra cis Confer e dealt the final bl w t th great colonial emp es wh ch h d l dy been ons derably haken by th war I f t the United Nations Charter l ys down p s rules f the trol f n elf-g erning territo es nd establ hes Trusteeship Coun il which is t tled t accept d exami e petit ns by the peoples f thes territ ries S pported by ll th tates that a e hostile to th various f rms f col ni lism especi lly th Asiat ountr es no -s lf g vern g territo es are therefore grad ally h evi g depe d

Accord g t th utho th United States has pl yed a vital pa t n this evolution rad cally pposed t th tr d t nal l ni l policy t has supported th aspirations of all tates endea uring t f ee thems l es fr m th trusteeship exercised by the adminis t n g pow rs Thus th ept of col ny has almost fall n out f us d deas which er uni ersally epted t th end f the ninet enth entury ega d g the onnex on betwee col nizatio d the progress f ilizati a d the part played by mis aries f m highly-dev l ped untries ould not be exp essed today without a using th l l est p test It is t nly th dea f loniz ti n itself that has been discredited b t lso th al es th Western t tes ep esent. Animated by a spirit f ggress n ti nalism tates that h ently a qui ed th ir independ n e e pposed to th E ropea f rm f vilizati n whi h they J ct as wh l without try g to derstand t H wever th p blem f the co mic devel pment of non-s lf g verni g territ ries nn t be l ed with ut o-oper t n between fully dev loped states and

backward territories and the nature of this co-operation on the internat onal plane has still to be determined

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réf g és O
D Consultatif *Informat* s

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ι of
the High Commissioner is jeopard zed by the inadequacy of the funds allo ed ow being evacuated from China p A might be given to the n ob The committee also h d obvious that it would of refugees rather thar required

BODE (Dr) La Convent on relative au statut des réfugiés *Revue internat onale de la Croix Rouge* 36(422) Feb 1954 p 123 28
The dimensions assumed by the refugee problem after the second world war led the United Nations to seek practical solutions—UNRRA then IRO—and legal solut ons The particular task of the United Nations in this field is to ensure legal protection for refugees on an international basis It was to that effect that the representatives of 26 states published on 28 July 1951 the Geneva Convention relat ng to the status of refugees which has just entered into force following on ts rat ficat on by a sixth signatory state Austral a An analysis of its contents shows that this convention although it st ll leaves much to be desired represents a great effort to improve the situation of refugees It is to be hoped that a large number of states will ratify it and that the states of the Eastern bloc whose citizens constitute an mportant proport on of the refugees protected by the convention will also be among the s gnatories

DISARMAMENT

INGLIS (D R) 'The H Bomb and Disarmament Prospects *Bulletin of th Atomic Scientists* 10(2) Feb 1954 p 41 45 and 64
With the invention of the H bomb the world has begun to real ze the mmense destructive power of atomic weapons It is becom ng ever more certain that both hostile camps have practically the same poss b l t es in this sphere P es d E hower s add ess to the United Nations is s gn fica the West no longe h superiority whicl frankness the Pre suggests firstly the establishment of an o ganizat on des gned to pool for peacef l purposes the world s knowledge and productive potential ties n the field of at m c energy He then p oposes the creation of a body fo the cont ol of atom c product on and disarmament These p oposals w h ch are closely l nked w ith the p oblem of the revis on of the Un ted Nations Charte raise the question of the establishment of a world government which alone would be able to cont ol the alarm ng p ogress of the destructive power of the atom p oposals of inestimable importance He co plete

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

THE INTERN TIO AL COURT OF JUSTICE

ROSENY (S) L exécutio et la mise en vigueur des décis ns de la Cour Internatio nal d Just c *Revue générale de D o t internatio l p blic* 57(24) Oct. Dec 1953 p 532-83

Th bsen f a internati nal so ere gn uthority capabl of enforcing th judgments of th I ternati l Court gi es a peci l character to the Court s decis ons the execution ests entir ly n th moral bl gatio assumed by th var ous states Thus bligati n is clea ly imposed by the the terms f th Charter p rticularly by Art cl 94 paragraph 1 The non-observan by any stat of J dgment of the Internat onal Court constitutes international offence and g es the other party to the case th right t exercis coerci n. Th latter must, h wever remain within th lim ts of inter national l w e. must not, by threat o fo ce vi l te the pol tical or territorial ntegrity of th tat con erned There dequat rga izat on of the international society it is in fa t extrem ly diff cult t carry ut th decis ns of th United N ti ns as is shown by an analysis of th S th West Africa case, for nstance. The greatest indecis on co t n es t characterize th problem f th execution f the judgments of the Internat onal Court f Justice with egard to everything concerning the I f States a d nternatio al organizations

F RT CHE (M) De la compétenc de la Cour I ternat onale d Justice dans l Aff e d l Anglo-Iranian Oil Co *Revue générale de Droit international public* 57(24) Oct. Dec 1953 p 584-6 2

When t th beginning of 1951 th Iranian P liament passed a law nat onalizing th il industry thr ghout th wh l of the nati nal territory a dispute arose between th Go ernment f Iran nd th Anglo-Iranian Oil Co Th United Kingdom brought this disput bef th Internati nal Court f Justice in virt f ts right of d pl matic tecti n. Iran immediat ly bmitted a n mber of pleas contesting the Court s irisd cti n th matter Th general plea egardi g the Court lack of jurisd ction as h ld t be val d with regard t cts nd treaties prio to the 1930 declaration, by u h Ira gr ed t ubmit ts lf t internati nal jurisd t n Th British Go ern ment als f iled t gain satisf ct by has s cas on th most f voured n tion laus the Court dis l med J risdicti n by n ne tes to f It is t be egretted h wever that t ga J dgment n th p rticul ly mportant q est on as t wh ther th m tter did d d t fall within th exclus J risd ct n f Iran.

JULL (L.) L ff ir glo- orvégienne des pecheries devant la Cou Internat onal d Justi *Friedens W rte* 52(1) 1953 p 48-66

Th mporta f th disp t between N rway and th United Kingd m b o ght befor th Intern ti nal Court f Just e, is clearly how by th United Ki gd m traditi nal decl at f ts intenti n t defend, by f of arms f necessary ts own cept on f th limits f territorial waters Th Court finally ecognized th al duty f h N rwegi epti basing ts decis n essentially geographical eal ties d th pri cipl that th belt f territ rial waters h uld f ll w th general directi n f th ast Th dopt n f this rul and th tmosphere during th hea ing f th cas how th t th Court d cis is much m e than a mpl soluti on f the Anglo-Norwegia d p t Th m is tru f the pri cipl L admitted during this cas that th eal ty d importa ce f econ mic interests peculia t a ertain egion cannot be taken into ns derat n unless they hav been confirmed by l g usage, established by th nternati nal tribunal N mer us cou tries particula ly Iceland e al eady envisag ng th ppl cat n to their territorial waters of the p inciples c tained in th Court d cis n. The wh l p blem deserves to be carefully exam ed It to be h ped that this will be d by th I ternational Law Commiss on.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

LALOIRE (M) L Organisation Internationale de Travail *Revue nouvelle* 18(11) 15 Nov 1953 p 409 14
As the funds placed at its disposal are to be reduced the International Labour Organisation will be obliged to slow down its activities especially in the field of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries Such a situat on h
host lity encountered by h
both shocking and parad
high standard of living t ... are steadily
increasing ILO s work in ... technical assistance is cons derable The delegates of the beneficiary countries have proclaimed the need for its continuation and even for its intensification Underdeveloped countries ne d
and statistics and
be trained in the g
demographic p essu ... technical assistance can produce results only after many years of efforts ILO must be g ven the necessary means for continuing it on a larger scale

EGGERMANN (G) Le Conse l d administration du B I T tient sa 123 session *Labor* 26(6-7) Dec 1953 Jan 1954 p 147 51
During its 123rd sess on in November 1953 ILO s Governing Body made a large number of decis ons one of which concerned the convening of a European Reg l Conference at the end of 1954 The

s ... po tant problems will be
e ... for workers professional training in agriculture and the revis on of the convention concerning protection against accidents (dockers)

SULKOWSKI (Dr) Les conférences régionales de l Organisation Internationale de Trava l *Revue g né ale de Droit international publ c* 57(24) Oct Dec 1953 p 613 30
Regional conferences inaugurated in 1935 have become one of ILO s regular activities According to the rules concerning their powers functions and p ocedure these conferences are attended mainly by delegations from e ch state or territory nvited by the International Labou O ganisation an ambiguous fo mula wh ch n fact refers to Member States and the r other terr to es ncluding trust ter itor es These conferences are also attended by a delegation from ILO s Governing Body and by rep esentatives of international o ganizat ons (gove nmental and non gove nment l) T
the confe ences is fixed by th

... pu ely r gional im
... e of the eg onal confe ences upon the Go ern ng Body is shown by another provis on in tl e tatutory rules mpo e ng the Go ern ng Body to decide on the val d ty of the credent ls of delegates to tl e conf r nces

THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

NORDLANDER (C H) F A O s Verksamhet (The activit es of FAO) *J dbruk e o mi k Meddelanden* 16(1) Jan 1954 p 3 13
The last conference of the Un ted N t ons Food and Agriculture Organ zat on (FAO) held in Rome n December 1953 ma ked an important stage n its development Whereas during a p evious sess o t had been decided to make a general effort to inc ease agr cultural p oduct on t s nterest ng to not that this t me FAO recom

mended elective eff rts nfined mainly to the p od cts most in demand nd to th countries which are still most dependent on f re gn aid The confe ence d d n t f d y ffecti satisf ctory sol t n to the problem of the dispos l f agr cult ral surpluses A pec al mmittee has been nstru ted to study this quest N was ther unanimity egarding th establishment f n Internat nal S bsisten e F nd Nevertheless th results achieved by FAO ar f estimable importance nd the budg tary tributi ns f Member States a e und btedly prof table investments

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

MER VIN (C. L.) Q ad ent il du Fonds Mo étair Internat nal *Revue Éco om que* M h 1954, n 2 p 252 6

In sp te f unfav ur bl ci cumsta es su h as the persistence f nternat nal tens n or th d ptı by most co tries of development programmes with a ecessa ily inflati nist tendency the I ternat onal Monetary Fund has d ne valuable wo k th field f internati nal ex h ges it has cceeded n promoting ternat nal fina ial co-operati n, which has brought bo t a ns derabl mp ovement in th world paym nts tuat o nd n important decreas n the rest cti ns imposed on internati l transa ti ns Its int rnati nal chara ter and th val e of the inf rmat on p vided h e als nabled t t undertake numerous act ities n the f eld of t chn cal assistan Its achievements a no less remarkabl the fi lds f informat on and docum ntati n. R ent decis ns t d to lax th rules go ern ng the right of members to draw on the Fund currency reserves—rules wh h had f equently g en rise to crit ism.

Les écentes dé is ns d Fonds M nétaire I ternat onal et la con ert b l té des monna es *P blème é nom que* 3 8 2 F b 1954 p 1 2

W th the expl t int ti n f o ertibl th I ternati nal M tary Fund Board f Executi e Directors dec ded Decembe 19 3 to lax the rules go ern g the right of members t draw n tl e Fund curr cy reserves t crease the durati n of th loans granted f m thes eserves f m ix mo ths t tw ye rs This is q alent t ndowing countries fearı g th ffects ertibility might ha their g ld o d ll reserves with a k nd f ex ha ge tabiliz t n fund. In this w y th Fund has mad def n te p ogress b t the is till mu h t be d e I particula greater fl ctuati n th exchange rates on th ffici l ma k ts h uld be uth rized S milarly to keep pace w th the variat ns in pri es d th expans n f intern ti nal trade sin e 194 th Fund s eserves f c tibl curr ncies hould be creased by pp eciably augm ting th ntribut ons f th U ted States d Canad

BOOK REVIEWS

UNITED NATIONS

MANGONE (Ger d J) *A Short History f I ternat nal O ganization* (McG aw H ll Series in P l t al S ienc) New Y k M Graw Hill Book Compa y 1954 326 p

I ternati nal ganizat n is her taken n the b oadest ens and th auth deals with experiments th co-oper t egulat f affairs betw so ere gn tates

from ancient Egypt to the Korean war The first half of the book g ves a bird eye view of the development in both scope and size of the technique of nations meeting together or combining to solve their common problems Mention is made of the inter Ægean treaties prior to 338 B C early European leagues such as the Swiss Confederation of 1315 the Congress of Westphalia and the Hanseatic League and the emergence of modern international relations through the Peace of Utrecht is traced

Professor Mangone accords considerable space to a discussion of the treaties and congresses which took place in Europe during and immediately after the Napoleonic era outlining the strength and weaknesses of the settlement which emerged from the Congress of Vienna and the breakdown of the consultative system at the end of the nineteenth century He goes on to deal with a number of those nineteenth century conventions which so successfully regulated intern
matters as river tr
copyrights comm
to take a gloomy
chapter on the de
through the works
in 1907 conclude

The second half of the book
set up for the furtherance of
Nations a
chapter
presente ... of the story of nineteenth century ... and shows how during the past 50 years the agencies then established have come to maturity and how many fields have been brought under some form of control by the Specialized Agencies of the League and the United Nations ranging f om the International Civil Aviation Organization to the administration of internat onalized territory in Danz g the Saar and Trieste The wo k is rounded off with a study of selected examples of regional international organization such as the various forms taken by the inter American system Arab collective action and the forces wo king towards European unity

Professor Mangone s book is a valuable combination of the app oaches associated with international relations history polit cal science and internat onal law setting the al eady well publ c zed activities of modern o ganizations in their proper perspective and histor cal background Each chapter is carefully documented and there are append ces at the end of most chapters which give verbat m extracts from or quote *in extenso* selected documents pert nent to the matters just discussed—the Utrecht Peace Treaty Covenant of the League of Nat ons No th Atlant c Treaty etc

HOFMANN (Stanley) *O gan sat ons internat onale et pou s pol t qu d s Ét ts (Cahiers de la Fondation Nati nale d s Sci nces P litiques* no 54) Paris A Colin 1954 428 p 8vo

The author sets out to determine the extent to which tates have sacrificed or l m ted some of their powers of jurisdict on by the c eation of nternational org nizat ons He also seeks by analys ng the r modes of procedure to def ne the nfluence exe ted by these o ganizations in the fulfilment of the r
of a pol

... necessary po ers to make ts fl nce ... felt Its effect on the ju isd ction of states n pol t c l matters was l mited by the inadequate legal means at its disposal The Un ted N t ons on the other hand intervenes more effectively n the field of nat onal juri d ction a s tu t o tl at is to be expla ned by the transfe of powers of jurisdict n to the Assembly and by the us of energetic methods of p ocedure The United Nat ons ho veve has exerted an nflue ce only on small and med um s zed states and has had no eff ct on the atell tes of th

great powers Theref e alth gh internat nal rganizations ha pl yed a ns derable p rt in develop g nter tate o-operati n thei pow erless ess to i tervene confl cts between the great powers must be dmitted

ZASLOFF (Joseph Jeremiah) G t Brit n and Pal t ne A Study f the P blem b for the United N tions Geneva E Droz 1952 187 p b bliography B o

After 1945 G eat Britain f ll wed a P lestı a pol cy d tated by contrad ctory c ns derati ns based o the promises b had mad to the Jews during th war and her co ern t maintain fri dly relat ns with the Arab untr es in order to protect her eco mi terests As h was unabl to keep the peace sh was obl ged r p dly to ha d over this task t the United N ti ns This was a p rticularly severe test fo th internati nal rganiz tion. The local difficulties arising from the pos t ons f th two d ersaries were ggravated on th ternat onal level by the rivalry between th Western powers a d th Soviet U on. Desp te this situation the United Nat ns chieved a pos ti result ts mediat secured a ease fire and two armist ces were co cl ded under th aegis f the Security Council. It is true that the present pos tions as hown o the map are more the result of mil tary operat ons than of nternational mediation. Th United N tions to ome extent, as ctio ed a f u accompl but its essential nd uniq e role was to pply the setting and th means for neg tiat ons between Arabs and Jews Lastly t has taken, nd continues to take most effect ve steps to assist the crowds f ref gees who are the h ef victims of the conflict in Palestine.

AYUB The U ted Nations at Work, Karach P kistan, Institute of I ternat onal Aff irs 19 2 40 p 8

After nalysing th origin and dev lopment of the United N tions the a thor draws a p ctur f ts structur nd functi ns and then goes n t study its ctual work. f th political field he emphasizes the nternational forum aspect of th U ted N ti ns. Th establishment of pecial commiss ons has greatly facil tated the sol tion f diff cult problems ch as the problem f Greece o f Palestine In th economi nd social field th United N t ns has d n ffecti e work through ts Speciali ed Agencies The most importa t tasks t p esent ar those which have to do with technical assistance. In ny case th a th recognizes the importa ce f certain assistance machi ery existing outs d th framework f th United Nations such as the American P int F ur programme d th Colombo Plan inaugurated by G eat Britain. M reover th United Nations has played and is till pl ying an importa t part in aid g ref gees a d displ ed pers ns Amo g th other ctivit es f th United Nat ons the author draws part cular ttention t th Trusteeship Coun il which has b ought abo t th gnatur f trust eship agreements nd exer ises a real co trol over th dministration f th territories under this system Th author concl des by ffirmi g that the United N ti ns cann t work ex ept in n tmospher of internati nal co-operat n.

KERNO (Ivan) L Org nis ti n des N ti ns Unies t La Cour internati nale d Justice (Recueil des cour de l Academie de d t international) P ris Sirey 1951 p 5 1 74, 8 p

Th I ternational Court of Justic is n th words of th Charter th princ pal j dicial gan f th United N ti ns Th Internati nal Court of Justice has always cons dered th Charter f th United N ti ns as th onstituti nal instrument f the rganized w ld community nd has ccordingly interp eted the text in its l teral nd somewhat restrict ense. In der t carry ut this f ct n th Court has had t establ h clos connexi ns with the Secr tari t f th United Nati ns In this way nsta t nd systemati o-operati s h as was envisaged in th Charter d th Statut has becom established. O the dministrati e lev l the Secr tariat tervenes n twithsta di g the p esen e nd ctivity f th Registra ffice t s ttle numerous internal p blems f th Court. It als takes p rt n th p ocedur f giving advisory pin ns l b t, as th ma ks th Secreta iat is the historian f matters laid bef th Court a d ts) is that f pporteur whose task t is to apply f tual legal inf rmati eded by the Court n d h eri g ts opini n

BASTID (Suzanne) La Jurisprudence de la Cour internationale de Justice (*R cueil des cou s de l A ad*ᶦ*mı d d oit int rnational*) Paris Sirey 1951 p 579 686 8vo
The binding force of legal precedents confers on jurisprudence a lead ng role in the development of a legal system. The author studies from that standpoint the funct on of the International Court of Justice whose activity has led to the creation of the first rough draft of internat onal jurisprudence The author g ves a systematic analysis of the decisions of the Court and classes each particular problem in a more general category After dealing with the basic ideas of the competence and function of the Court the author then begins her survey with decis ons relating to international conventions and the general princ ples of law The concept of intern
is precisely stated and in this connexion
and scope of the concept of national sove
law The judgments and on
a civil servants The position of the
to problems concerning the peacef l
disputes shows the legal imp
ation of the law of inter

INTERNATIONAL LAW

WEHBERG (Hans) *Krieg und E ob run im Wandel des Völkerrechts* Frankfu t on the Main Alfred Met ner 1953 135 p 8vo
In the class c conception of international law recourse to wa the appl cat on of the principle of the just war was accorded to every State as an attribute of its sovereignty The outlawing of force as a means of settl ng disputes made ts appearance only with the Covenant of the League of Nations and above all with the Briand K
The terr torial ntegrity of states
the fo
be me
gin to g ve practical force to
these es as a basis of nternational law that every unauthor zed use of force against one or more states is regarded as llegal thus condemning all the principles wh ch might justify the old law of conquest In this evolution of international legal doctrine the author gives a pec al place to the doctr ne of non recognition put forward by Secretary of State St mson H
recognit on of terr torial changes
berate

PLISCHKE (Elmer) *Inte nat nal Relations Basic Document* Ne York Van Nostrand 1953 194 p 8vo
The author has collected and classified a numb r of documents des gned to serve as a basis for the study of inter state relat ons The documents are
notes dealing with the quest ons
accompanied by ch rts defin ng
and administrations concerned wi
raised by internat onal law and
to be found in this book

Th auth also exami es the co duct f f re gn pol cy a d dipl mat c rights nd immu ties the power t cl de t eat es th tatus of ternat onal bod es q est ons relati g t the ecognitio and independen erning the peac ful settl ment of the stat maritum nd a r law nd finally ll p bl ms llecti e security and th law of war The texts q ted re mostly taken from American law p rticularly th rules g verni g th a ti n f the United St tes of America in th internati nal fi ld H ever an import nt pl is reserved f the United N t ons d the I ternational Court of Justi

CASSIN (R.) *La de lar tion un er lle t la ms en ma e d s d ts d l'homme* Paris S rey 1951 8 o (Recu il des cours d l ac dém de dro t ternat onal p 241 365)
The protecti n and defenc f h man ghts hav th ir basis nd equire th r legally bligatory ch racter in the S n Fran isco Charter Indeed this task takes its pl ce m g the prim d l dut es f the Un ted Nat ns rganizations A def n t on f human rights was n t gi en n the Ch rter this is t bef nd n th Un versal Decl rat o d pted in 1948 which envisages four catego es f human rights personal rights mmunity rights nd finally the rights of the di idual in the polit cal and ec mi fi lds Th ffecti e defence f these bas rights calls for means of act on not t present t the disposal f the United N t ons In order to remedy this tuat on a draft oven t has been studied with a view to p tt g into operat n th principles that ha e thus been ecognized. States w ld be bl ged to undertake def nite mm t ments in l ing th d pt n of national measures des gned to ens e the protect n d defen f th rights pheld by the United Nations This would ha e to be supple- mented by pecial international measures p rt cul ly by granting to an organ of the United N ti ns powers of ntrol t at p esent in th possess n of the Commis on H ma Rights The uth re ognizes howev that the idea of exclus ve nat onal ereignty will raise ma y difficulties sometimes ins l ble

F NWICK (Charles G) The progress f intern ti nal law dur g the past f rty years (*Recueil de our de l'A ademie de d t international*) P ris Sirey 1951 p 5 71 8vo
Th thor draws p balance heet f impo tant p blems in ternat onal law which ha taken decis e hape since th beginning f th entury In th f ont f these problems h n tes th ma ked incurs on f intern t nal egul t ns int municipal law As ns qu f this tates tend t be less eserved bout entering the nter nati al sy tem, and the prin ple f n participation in intern t nal organizations whi h was till pot t after the first world wa has been abandoned N less emarkabl is th growth of egi nal rganizat ns whos al dity has been recognized in the Charter f th United N ti ns Certain technical q esti ns such as *d facto* recognition, n wh h ther was greement t th beginning f th ntury ar now th ubject of h ly tr ersy Finally th princ ple of collecti ecurity d means f r the pea ful ttl ment of international disputes h as arb tr ti and co ciliation, have bec m mor widesp ead without however a hievi g the results that wer hoped of th m Th establishment of an rganizat o furnished with the n cessary powers t epress tt mpts t gress n d a o d confli ts has certainly mad importa t p ogress w th the United N ti ns b t important p blems f internat onal law—s ch as th pr blem f eutrality— e mor confused than ever In f ct, co l des the author th principles f ternati nal law ha n t been mat hed by power effecti enough t ensure that they ar espected

G RAUD (Emil) Le Secrétariat des ganisati ns internati nales (*Recueil d cour d l'A ademie de d oit international*) P is Sirey 195 p 373 507 8 o
N twithsta d g th esembl nces they may how t nati nal administr tions th ecretariats f nternati nal organizat ns p esent problems whi h more of a political tha a legal ha cter Their rol is fairly easy to defin the essential task is to collect the documentati n req ired for th work of d legates to p ep meetings nd draft ll memora da or recommendati ns lik ly t be f us during th discus ns They ther f to be ranked as civil erva ts having ecognized dut es t perform

and doing we l
permanent m experts called in to
execute a pa job finishes with the conclusion of that task.
Although the part played by the secretariats is important particularly in maintaining continuity in the activities of the international organizations the author emphasizes that their usefulness is independent of the usefulness of the organization itself Their role is in fact limited and the improvement of their own structure does not mean an extension of their field of competence

BRUCCULLERI (Angelo) *L ordine interna ionale* Rome la C viltà Cattolica 1945 84 p 8vo
A theoretical study of international law shows that there exists at the b
state relat ons an ethical principle which
of peace which
This conceptio
Encyclical lette
the state whos
minorities the
ment In international prac
Among these must be reckor
of the world and the reduc a solution to these two problems is a basic cause of economic crises and wars Inter state co-operation adumbrated in the League of Nat ons should enable the United Nations to take decisive action The author concludes his study with an analysis of the work of inter national organizations and the spir tual influence of the Church in inter state relations

MESSINEO (A) *Il d ritto interna ionale nella dottrina cattolica* Rome la C vil à C
418 p 8vo
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poss ble to place w ien the law of preservat on and the right to ue ence are the most important The second part of the book is devoted to a study of the prerogative of the state particularly the concept of sovere gnty The author begins by stating that autarchy is the essence of the state and proceeds to explain the Catholic doctrine of the equal ty of states on the legal level If such a th ng as a h erarchy exists in the international sphe e it is *de facto* and not *de jure* An analysis of the concept of sovere gnty properly so-called shows that it has an absolute significance in the history of the international legal order Nevertheless if the true principle of sovere gnty is supreme power this power is l mited by the recogn tion of certain fundamental rights of the individual and of human communities

LENER (S) *Crimi i di guerra e d l tti contro l umanità* Rome la Civiltà Cattolica 1948
159 p 8vo
An historical survey of inte national tribunals set up s nce the end of the first world war by the Treaty of Versailles up to and includ ng the Nuremberg Tribunal makes it possible to dra a dist nction between war crimes crimes aga nst humanity and crimes against peace This last category seems to the author to nclude m l
acts difficult to penali e Cr mes agai
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l ages of
l
e aterial justice of the So iet and Nazi type
He concludes with a review of the sol t ons arrived at by the N remberg Tribunal underlining the deological d fferences between the members of the tr bunal and the essent ally pol tical character of the trial He comes to the conclus on that even if var

ca n t t present be c ns dered as crime n off e ga nst the law an appeal should be mad to the uni ersally a cepted rules of law

STR USZ HUPE (R bert) Pos
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th rules whe
tat ction by the existence f n internati nal ... sed and finally upon th ... system then upon ther tates re epresented Fore gn pol cy is analysed by a pol t co-legal method wh h enables ts mot es and means to be d f ed. The authors br g th ir survey t bea ... German Soviet lati ns and on rel t ons between the All es during the sec d wo ld wa Passing n to n exam nat on of p oblems prese ted on th inter national lev l d equiri g s l ti n n the part of bodies such as the United N t ons they gi a historical ccount f th problems f disarmament nd the control of t mi energy and eating the moti es wh h ind ced states] to adopt a pos t on in harm y with thei own interests Q esti ns relat ng to the prevention of war are gi en pr minent pl ce in the book th Atl t c Alliance is presented as a regi nal pa t in nf rmity w th the United N t ons Charter and as an essential foundation of pea Th extens n f inter-stat co-operat o within the framewo k f reg nal pacts makes tat c mmitment to th internat nal system appear even str ger and emphasizes th intermingling f m nicipal nd ternati nal law

THE SP CIALIZED AGENCIES

DES RES (Jea P erre) *Le Canada et l O ganis tion I ternational d T av l* Mo treal F des 1947 273 p 8vo

Th tho begins by tudying th purpose nd funct on of th I ternati nal Labour Organisation nd nalyses th origin of the dea f th legal protection f workers H then p oceeds t examin th problems raised by the particip t n of Canada in th w k f this rganizati n. As distinct f m th other internati nal organizati ns th ILO enj y statut ry powers enabling t to interven in matters generally reserved for th exclus jurisd cti n of individual tates Th adhes on of Canada to the co enti establ hing th ILO theref e raises a d licate legal p blem on ccount f th federat structure f tat in whi h the p inces ha preserved important powers I deed every nventi n, if t is t be legally ppl ed has to be ubmitted for ratificati n by th vari us provin es In rder to sta dardize working conditi ns in Canada th th would lik to ee the federal tate empowered to ratify an inter nati nal labour on ent n f nd in the name of particular p ovince and also in ts wo m H further uggests th creation of an inter p ovi ial l bou c mmittee d f pecial dep tment t deal w th ILO matters as t rous a special nterest in th p ovi es in th work of that organizati n, a d t ensure a jud us ch ce of d legates t ep es t Canada in th different bra ches f the ILO and particula ly in th industrial mmittees

MARRAMA (V tt ria) *La banc mondial lo svil ppo onomic dei paesi arre t t* Milan I industri 22 p 8

Th part pl yed by th I ternati nal B nk in assisting underdeveloped countr es is a d ct esult f ts finan l respons bil t es wh by t is bliged t ass t n th economi dev l pment f thos co ntries by fa il tating the in estment f p tal wh ther this t kes th form f loans f m ts wn funds of cap tal f m ther sou ces Studying th d t ons l d d wn by th Ba k f the gra t g f loans th uth n tes that th borr er must nsult t gard g the cope t be gi en t th practical p ojects for which h is aski g fina l assist n d bo t th d ta led plans f carry g out th work. Th B nk ther for has power t examin th wh l p ject bmitted t t if

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prof undly cha ged by the wa Ca the Po nt Four programme sol e the problems impedi g th industrialization of th underdevel ped count es Hav ng stud ed f m th ec mi demograph c and soc ological po nts of v ew the c cept of under dev l ped count es the a thor aff rms that American a d f ds its necessary c mplement in th ass tance suppl ed by the Un ted Nat ns Whereas the f rmer aims p marily t ensuring th devel pment f i dustry part cularly the mi g secto tl e latter is m re c erned with mp o ing gricult ral methods and with the establishment f social erv es in the d mains of health nd cult re. These problems ha e been sol ed in a the differ t way by the colonial powers who have t n f ot vast devel pment plans particularly in Africa Notwithsta d g th d g en up to th date under cons derati n, p ovis on was made f increas g the v l me of exports o bu ld ng up a nati nal eserve The a th con l des by indicat g the need f r co-operat on the p t of th highly-developed count es d hows what could be accomplished by Europea countries in l ding Germany if they adopted a common pol cy in this fi ld

INTER ATI NAL ECONOMI CO-OPERATION

RITTERSHAUSEN (Dr Heinr h) *Internationale Hand l und Devisenp l i k* Frankfort on th Main Fritz Knapp 1953 448 p 8

N tw thstanding ex hang estr ctions th pol cy f th various states as regards international trade has moved in the directi n of mo effective co-operat on through th establishme t f international rg nizat ns It is true that every stat at p esent has th power t tak teps ega di g tariff q otas a d currency regulat ons that w uld enabl t ery ffect ely to nt ol th direct on and vol m of ts external tr de. Th a th nsists this espect, o the mporta ce of currency regulati ns especially thr gh the med um of th ce tral banks and n the fixi g f exchan e rates Concurr tly with this devel pment f tat infl en e h wever he emphasizes h ff rts f ec mi o-operat n th t ha e been made within th framework of the inte nat nal o ganizat ons H a alyses th l of GATT a d the tages of the truggl f th low g f tr d b rriers It must be admitted that the results a e st ll limited th deas wh ch lay beh d th creat n f ternat onal trade organ ati particularly ec om c exp ns n nd the n eas f th volume of internat n l trade within pol cy f f ll mploym t, ha e ot been realized practice Neverth less th part pl yed by th I ternat onal Mo tary Fund d th I tern tional Bank fo Rec nstru t a d Devel pme t h ws th us f l ess and fficac ty of the w k of int t nal ga t ns The dilemma f creating nternat o al trad or res rt g to war must be l ed un q ocally f u f pea

HL (W lth) Th law f ternat al p ym nts (*Recueil d our d l A adémie d d t ternational d La H y* 95) P ris S ey 1952 p 515 711 8

Th leg l basis f the ternat l paym ts syst m has ts orig n n the meas es fo th estr t f t rn t nal t d b o t f the crisis f 1929 These egulat ons wer specified d c mpl ted b l t ral mult lateral greements cl ded after 94 The legal t ls thus mposed ther f h d th rigin both n mun p l and internati l l w T m ni pal l w bel g th tatut ry o legal decis ns t k n by th competent tho ty c h t t ega d g th mo ement of p tal a d th fina ial t l f ex h ges T tern t o l law bel s ll the mach ery required f th ppl cat f t l y tems h as mpens ti lea g h us and paym nt r ments nd th mulul teral p yments ystem Th auth m kes pec l study f th ma h ery f b lateral gr eme ts nd d ws a dist t betw n th legal pos t f tates tr et g by virt f a lea g hous gre m t d states c n t t g by vi tu f payments greem t. Bilateral gre ments n any case appe t h m f lty l ti nd h ther f ludes with n nalys of the m h ery f h Europea P yments Uni n exam ni in turn ts f n ti ns as lea ng h us as bank d finally as n dminist t body end wed with ts o n t ea ury

the loan it grants does not cover the total cost of the operation it helps to raise private capital which is thus invested in regions and sectors where it would not be invested but for the intervention of the Bank The fact that the Bank is concerned in a particular project therefore provides a kind of guarantee of economic development creating favourable conditions for the investment of capital In this way the Bank collaborates in technical assistance provided by the United Nations and by certain great powers through procuring the necessary financial resou ces for setting on foot large scale equ pment projects which are the essent al preliminary to econom c development

Di Simone (Giovanni Maria) *P ogetti di cooperazione monet ria e finanzia ia interna onale* Rome Bancaria 1952 72 p 8vo
International financial bod es whether their purpose is to facilitate exchanges through multilateral payments like the European Payments Union to grant loans like the Internat onal Bank or to carry out financial policy like the International Monetary Fund are certainly effective but lack the necessary means to solve certain problems The expansion of the European Payments Union into an Atlantic Payments Union can help the development of exchanges between highly industrialized countries only There is in fact need for a body capable of encouraging the growth of trade with under developed countr es The author then examines schemes which have already been put forward several times for establishing an international financial company This body would be competent to grant medium and long term credits it would call to a large extent upon private enterprise and should possess a Statute and means of act on mo e flexible than those of the International Bank It would not of course be able to solve all the problems connected with the establishment of programmes of economic development and the total number of its comm tments would be limited but it would be the rational complement of the work of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund

NON SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Allegrini (Alberto) *L amministrazione fiduciaria della Somalia* (un singolare trusteesh p) V cenza Arte grafiche delle Venez e 1951 40 p 8vo
The evolution of the status of Somaliland f om the League of Nat ons Mandate to the Trusteeship Agreement signed unde the aegis of the United Nations has been in the direction of a strengthening of the pol t cal and administrative controls exercised by the inte national authority The work of the Trusteeship Counc l is particularly effect ve both as regards the repo ts submitted to it and the more d rect action represented by the inqu ries carried out into the methods of the administrators On the pol tical level it is conceded that trusteeship must lead to independence In any case the abolit on of the Trusteesh p Agreement and the recognit on of Somaliland as an independent state depend upon the fulfilment of ce ta n condit ons the establishment of a central authority and an ndependent local administrat on capable of guaranteeing the preservat on of la v and orde the organ ation of a jud ciary body designed to ensu e the defence of human rights In another field the creation of a Somaliland curr ncy would not sol e the economic and financ al p oblems invol ed in the development of the country s resources and in ts balance of payments Somal land which is polit cally free must ema n economically dependent on a great power

UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Schuster (Hans) *W tschaftl he Zus mmena b t m t untere t ick lten Landern* B emen Bremer Ausschuss fu Wi tschaftsforschung 1951 125 p 8 o
Point Four is a proof of the Un ted States dete m nation to ensu e n the unde developed countries rega ded as economic vacuums a ce ta n degree of economic development indispensable for the inc ase of nternat onal trade It also reflects United States concern to ma nta n a ce tain pol t cal stab l ty in count es often

p f undly ha ged by the war Ca the Po t Four p ogramme l the p obl ms impeding th dustri lization f the underdeveloped ountries H ving stud ed f m th econom d m graphic and soc ological points of v ew the cept of under devel ped countries th tho aff rms that American d finds ts necessary complement in the assista e ppl ed by th United Nat ons Whereas the f rmer aims p marily t ensuring the devel pm t f industry part cula ly in the min g ector th latter is m re co cerned with imp ing agricult ral m thods and with the establishme t of ocial ervices n th d mains f health and culture These problems ha e been l 'ed in a ther differe t way by the col nial powers who ha e set on foot vast devel pment plans, particul ly in Africa Notwithsta d g the a d g en up to the date under ns derati p vis on was made for creas ng th volume f exports o build ng p a ati nal eserve The thor concl des by nd cat ng the need f co-operat on on th p rt f th highly-devel ped ountries and shows what ould be accomplished by Europea untr es incl ding Germa y if they dopted a c mmo pol cy in this field.

INTERN TIONAL ECO OMIC CO-OPERATION

RITTERSHAL EN (Dr H inr ch) *I ernat onale Handel und Devisenpol tik* Frankf rt on th M in Fritz Knapp 1953 448 p 8 o

N twithsta ding ex h g estrict ns th pol cy of th various states as regards internati nal trad has m ed in th directi n of m re ffect e co-operat on th ough the establishment f international g niz t ons It is tru that every state t p esent has th power to tak steps egarding tar ffs quotas a d currency regulati ns that w uld nabl t very ffecti ly to ontrol the direct o nd volum of its external trad Th th nsists in this respect, th mporta ce of currency regul ti ns especially thr gh the medi m f th central b nks a d n the fixing f excha g rates Co curr tly with this de l pment of state influenc h wever he emphasizes h fforts f ec mi o-op at n that ha e been mad within th framewo k of the int rnat nal rganizations H nalyses the rol f GATT and th stages of th truggl f th l weri g of tr de b rr ers It must be dmitted that the results r still limited th deas whi h lay beh d th creation f an internati nal trad organizat n part cul ly m e p ns n a d the increase of th ol me of int rnat onal trad with pol cy of f ll mpl yment, ha ot been ealized n pract c Nevertheless th part pl yed by th I t nat nal M etary F nd d the Internat onal B nk f Rec nstru ti a d Dev lopment h ws th us fulness and ffca ty of th w k of inter t nal ga iz ti ns The d'lemma f creas g internat nal t ad esort ng t wa must b l ed un qu ocally in f f pea

HUG (Walth) Th l w f t rnat n l payme ts (*Recueil d our de l A adémie d d t ntern tional de La Hay* 95) P ris S ey 9 2 p 515 7 1 8

Th legal bas f th ternat l p ym ts system has ts orig n n the measures for th estrict f nternat nal t d a is t f th cr is f 1929 Thes egul tions wer specified d mpl ted n bilater l multilater l agreements co l ded fter 945 Th legal t ls thus imposed theref had the o gin both in mu c pal and tern ti l l w T muni pal law bel g th tat t ry r legal de is ns taken by th mpet t th ty ea h tat ga ding the m ement of cap tal and th fi ial tr l f excha es T tern t nal l w bel gs all the ma hi ery eq ired f th ppl cat f trol sy tems u h as mpens t lea ing h us d payment greements d th multil ter l p ym ts yst m. Th autho makes a pecial st dy f th ma hi ery f bil ter l gr ments d draws a distin t n between th legal pos t on f tates t ti g by virt f a leari g h us greem t nd states on tra t g by irt f p ym nts greement Bilateral gr ments n ny cas appea t h m f ulty l ti and h th f o ludes with n analysis of th m h nery f h European P ym ts Uni n, exam ni g n turn ts f n tions as leari hous as bank d fin lly as dmi istr ti body endowed w th ts own t easury

KINDELBERGER (Charles P) *International Economics* Howewood R D Irwin 1953 543 p 8vo bibliography

International economic relations depend to a large extent on the means and methods at the disposal of states for the financial control of exchanges International economy has been characterized since 1945 by the development of commercial currents regulated by artificial methods of payment founded on the principle of assistance The dollar deficit and the assistance programmes in the form of gifts or loans of dollars have thus constituted the financial framework of international trade. If the problem of the dollar shortage tends to be easier to solve other problems particularly the problem of raw materials are becoming more acute The author presents the problem as a whole linking the supply and cost of raw materials with the growth of national income in underdeveloped countries This economic expansion presupposes an increase in international investments which are very inadequate in their total amount as compared for instance with internal investments in the United States of America Despite the activities of international organizations favourable conditions for the export of capital by wealthy countries have not arisen and investments abroad are totally inadequate to meet the needs of world economy The only important movements of capital have come about as a result of official programmes and it seems that only the drawing up of a long term plan enables highly industrialized countries to solve the problem of economic underdevelopment The need for such a plan is evident a theoretical study of economic relations between states shows that international exchanges cannot progress without a certain measure of the equipment and unless adequate means of with a purely a beyond the sc

III NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

A MEETING OF EXPERTS ON SOCIAL SCIENCE TERMINOLOGY

Paris 5 7 May 1954

The committee of experts co ened by Unesco was attended by *Experts* Professor M. Ginsberg (Cha rm logy Department of the Londo teur) (Belgium) Member f th d Épargne t d Retraite Belg Secretary of the Flemish Acaden H. J nn (Belgium) Direct f the Solvay Inst tut of Soci logy Professor Univers ty f Brussels Professo G Heckscher (Swed Stockh lm P fessor B Wootton Bedford College, Univer d Études démograph qu ty f Göttingen M Suff ge Uni ers I Ch. Strasbourg Paris P fessor W Ogb rn (U ted States of America) Emeritus Pro- fessor f th Uni ers ty f Chicag Professo at N ffi ld Colleg Oxford Dr Raif Bell ma (Leban) Assistant Secr tary-General f the Arab League. *Ob erver* Mrs S Forgues United N tions M M Ez k el Food and Agricult re O ganizati Mrs D Lec tt e, Organizat o f E pea Ec n mic Co-opera ti Mrs H Berger Lieser I ternati nal Economic Associat o M S Hurt g I ternati nal P litical Scien Associati Pr fess C. Lévi Strauss I ternat onal Soci l Sc ence Committee P fess A. Bertrand Internati nal Comm ttee f Comp ati Law Mr E. d D mp err Centr d Ét des Soc log q es *Member f the Unes Secr tariat D partment f Social Sciences* Mrs A. Myrdal M G de Lacharriè Dr O Klin berg Dr K. S czerba Lik ernik, Dr S Friedma Mr P Lengy l *D partment f N tur l Scienc* D J H lmstrom

Th discuss on was opened by Mrs A. Myrdal D ecto f the Soci l Sc en es Depart ment, wh explained th useful ess d eed f glossary f th social c en es nd th difficult es in l ed in ts ompil ti n.

O th p oposal f P fess Haesaert, Pr fess Ginsberg was l ted ha rman of th committee D M l was appointed apporteur-g ne l

Th f ll wing facts d lus ons emerged f m th th ee d ys discuss ns

Th principle f th usef lness nd urgent eed f d ct o ary f soc l en es nd f multilingu l lexi f th soc al en es was taken f granted from the ts t d was t hallenged

All peakers gr ed with th ha man emphasiz g th t difficulties a ose not nly in th tr nslati f terms from l guag w th a rich ocabul ry to n ther equally w ll-equipped la guag b t first f all within ea h ind vid al l ngu g d ea h particul bject.

After ex h ges f views th c mmittee pported th p ni f P ofessors Ha saert d Bertra d that however urgent the ed f glossary multilingual lexico f th type d ocated by Mrs. F gues nd Mrs Berger Lieser social scien e termin logy in all th so-called well-equipped langu ges was till too ague f r t t be possibl to compil lexic n which t us Professo Bert and wn words

could at the present stage be no more than a ser es of approximations in a sea of obscurity

Priority was accordingly given to the compilation of a soc al sciences vocabulary in two well equ pped languages

3 The committee further thought that despite the very real difficult es involved it would be poss ble to compile for the social sc ences a work on much the same lines as those successfully produced for subjects giving rise to s milar p oblems such as

4

a social sciences vocabulary Lalande type a general glossary with translations with translations of the te ms committee decided in favour best adapted to the sp t of Unesco s decisions the resources of the various nat onal groups concerned with terminology problems the methodological requ rements of this type of work

However it recommended that social scientists be asked to examine as soon as poss ble the translat ons proposed in Unesco s terminology index cards from the scientific and linguistic standpo nts al ke

5 After thorough discussion the committee decided against Mr Vincent s proposal for a dictionary of social sciences on the same l nes as he h d proposed for his dic tionary of demography i e in the form of a statement endeavouring to include all technical words and express ons set out in a log cal sequence indexed n accordance with the universal dec mal system (a proposal supported by Dr Holmstrom) and serving as a basis for each individual language

ment was so ngen ous and valuable as to make it worth while bearing its principles in mind and taking them as a gu de so far as possible once the first draft of the social sc ences vocabulary had been worked out

6 The committee also adopted Professor Ginsberg s proposal that leading experts should first prepare special art cles clarifying some of the bas c terms used in the soc al sc ences and that these articles should be published as contributions to an open forum n the *I ter ational Soci l S ience Bullet n*

On the suggestion of Messrs G nsberg Janne and Heckscher it was further requested that specialists in the various social and natural sc ences should subsequently be convened to international round table discuss ons or sympos a for the pu pose of dra ing up final definitions of these particula ly complex concepts

7

p oposed by nat onal wo k ng p ties on te m nology (ccompanied by a d a

ings confused and mprecise uses of t ms etc to be emphasi ed by the use of a diacritical mark (e g ↗) (i) related or sim l r te ms synonyms and antonyms

The comm ttee also app oved the pr nc ple of using quotat ons (extracts from deceased authors) f r the purpo e of (a) plac ng the va ous me n ngs n the r proper histor cal and social setting (b) x lud ng all mean ngs propo ed merely from bias in favour of a part cular school of tl ought o excess ve conce n for uni form ty (c) helping the l ngu sts and t nslators respons ble for the preparat on of the multil ngual lexicon

8 It was greed that the nly way f as ess g w th t undue del y the pos and ent fi val of th proposed method f wo k w urvey f 15 t 2 terms Th — fully p epa ed d carr ed t all b hes f oc l ci

9 I the ommittee p ut t general terms mm n t ll b t rms t be d fned sh ld (a) comprise i t gi en bra ch d t rms c nnected with the techn ques and m thods used by th disciplin n q est (b) reflect th constant and ever creas g nter pe etr t on f th var ous b nches f social ence ( ) be calculated to as d any discuss t this stag as to hether any part cular uxiliary o elated discipline cam und th heading f social sc en a d as to the bo ndaries between the va us soc l en es (d) enl t the terest f the greatest poss ble number f ocial cientists in th p ject (e) meet the most urgent needs f the internat onal o ganiz t ons c ncerned and f transl t rs fo wh m it was ext emely diff cult to fi d exa t equi al nts for erta n ot t chnical o er general terms (Mrs Myr dal s est)

Pr fesso J nn s pport d Mrs Myrd l ews nd s ggested that those var ous equirem ts could best be m t by taking as th entral theme for discuss on the conseq en es f tech l gical chang nd ts ffects on ocial nst tut ons

Dr S czerb po ted ut that that p oposal had the ad antage f coveri g a subject which had al eady been taken up by U es in at least two of ts publ ca ti ns (*Cultural P tterns and Tech al Chang* in th *Tensions and T chnology* series, and in *I ternational Social Scienc B llet* l V n 2 special number deal ng with the oci l impl cati ns of t hnical ch g) as thos publ cat ons had been translated with ut d lay Th them p posed by Professor Janne was ccord ngly dopted by th mmitt e, whi h equested th Dep tment of Social Sc ences t d aw up list f terms for bmiss n to nati nal w king p rt es

V ri us experts (P fessors B Wootto Ogburn G nsberg etc) rged that this list hould ot c tain too ma y very g neral terms whi h t was practically mpos bl t d fin becaus th pecialized technical termin logy of the various bra hes f ocial cience was t ll too impre se W th that view the committee ncurred It was ls greed that even as ea ly as th p lot-survey tag the d c tion ry h uld be planned not for the p od cers of th soci l sciences but i th terests f lik ly users o cons mers ma y f wh m were not ocial sc ntists (g tud ts J urnal ts pecialists other branches f st dy translat rs and pers ns gr ps emb king f the first tim ct pol tical life etc)

i Th q est of l guages als g e ris t discuss between Messrs Szczerba S h eder E eki l and Heckscher The c mmittee oted that Italian Spanish d Sca di via gr ps had al eady h wed eal terest n th p oposed soci l scien es oc bulary It lso w l med th ffer f assistan e made by Dr Schaeder wh was ass mi g espons bility for th publ cat f the *Handw terbuch der S zialwiss ens haften* (h rtly to be transl ted into Sp nish)

Howev th ecr tariat es urces did t permit t to carry ut the pil t urvey m th the tw w king la guages f U esco—Engl h a d Fren h— d poss bly Sp nish as third priority t be g understood that th results f this w k w ld be mad vail bl as oon as poss bl t the ther linguistic groups that multi ngual lexi ns might be mpiled as peedily as poss bl

i As f th questi f l ti ns betw en th wo king part es (inv lving for th English l gu g t least British d American experts and f th F ench l guag F en h Belgi Swiss d Canadian experts) t was decided t Pr fesso H esa ri suggesti n th t ea h f the language gr ps (English d F ench) and b-gr ps (F ench Belgi n Swiss d Canadian f F en h and British and America f E glish) h uld be allowed the greatest poss ble independenc U es would be respons bl for ntralizing and disseminating the w k of th ous nati nal w king parties t rmin logy R gula meetings of the

representatives of these various working parties would ensure uniformity of working methods exchange of experience a uniform solution for the problems raised

12 As for the method of working Dr Szczerba summed up the various stages as follows (a) preparation by the rapporteur general of the report setting forth the decisions taken by the Committee of Experts on Social Science Terminology at its meeting of 5 6 7 May (b) circulation of the report by the secretariat among national and international scientific associations colleges and academies uni ver ties etc. its publication in specialist reviews and its submiss on to the various national and international social science congresses (c) preparation of precise instructions concerning terminology for submission to the different orking parties concerned (d) drawing up of final plans for the guidance of national working parties during the pilot survey (e) definition of the 150-200 words chosen for the pilot survey on the basis of the instructions concerning terminology This work should be completed by the end of 1955 at the latest for both English and French and would then be submitted forthwith to the competent national and international academic and scientific authorities

In the light of the experience thus ga ned it would then be possible to promote the compilation in accordance with final plans jointly prepared of social science dictionaries in the various well equipped languages and simultaneously of a multilingual lexicon which would be as comprehensive as Unesco s resources and the various national working parties could make it

THE FIRST ITALIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

M lan 23 and 4 Apr l 1954

This congress jo ntly con ened by the Organization for European Econom c Co-operation and the recently created Ital an Assoc ation for Pol t cal and Social Sc ences as its first publ c manifestation had as its theme the problem of Europe

In his opening remarks the President of the Ital an section of OEEC Dr Enrico Falck outlined the objectives of the organizat on and the methods it as adopting towards the promotion of economic progress stressing part cularly the benefits already deri ed from the OEEC-sponsored European Payments Union and the ad antages that would accrue to Italy from an integration of the Western European economy

The contr bution made by the comparat vely new disc pline of pol t cs to the study of European problems was the subject of the nt oductory paper del ered by Professor F Vito Pres dent of the Ital an Assoc ation for Pol t cal and Social Sc ences The emergence and rap d expansion of a scientific theory of the formation of pol tical dec s ons had not really affected the fundamental and trad t on l methodology n this field which consisted of a threefold approach based on history jur dical and philosophic speculation and empirical observat on analogous to that employed in th phys cal sciences Although in Italy a humanist c b as vas st ll generally preferred n such studies there vas as elsewh re an ncreas ng recogn tion of the en roa hm nt of polit cs on all other soc al science disc plines and the necess ty for greater inter discipl nary co-ord nat on

The various plans for European un ficat on—through federalism mon tary unity customs union and so on—were based on the assumpt on that once certa n underlying obstacles were removed the political and soc al life of the continent would integrate automatically It was the object of the congress to examine the val d ty of this assump-

tion by ns dering first th historical then the jur d cal a d f lly the e onom c aspects f th p blem.

A bri f historical rvey of th devel pm nt f E opean ns usness was p o- ded by P fess F Coll tu It was M hi ell who f rst disti guished the chara t istically Eur pean from the As but the co cept had dev loped chiefl eighteenth century thro gh M tesq eu, Fila geri a d and manti ism The cros

us of the p esent Eur pea crisis mo cover was the grad l d mi ut n f th siz and tatus of Europe in th w ld This was d e to the rise of Amer ca on th o hand d th f rmat o f tw peripheral b eakaway emp es—tl e British and th Russia —on the ther Thi devel pment made the time hono ed bala of power l u n inappl cabl and new formul would have t be so ght if E rope was t carry y we ght wo ld ff irs It was the existence of European pirit that p vided s m h pe for emerg nce f om th current crisis recognized as one of several

Profess G Mar nini pointed out that th n neteenth cent ry h ch saw the dev l pment of mmunications d transpo t the expans on of European colon es overseas European contr l f sea la es ma kets nd industrial power was pre emi ently ce tury f Eur pean ascenda cy Desp t internal tendenc es towards par t cul rism unity was being f ged After th two world wars h wever no ngl E pea nati ema ed omplet ly in cont l f its own destiny and t was only through federation that th different countries could ega their so ereignty and dignity I tates based both n d vidual guarantees and on popular sovereignty ther was n nherent co tradi t n which was to m extent esol ed by th balan ng f es which dev l ped ins de th liberal state. Sin the pervers n of the l beral deal by tat encr hment nd th devel pment of ca tels a d other o ga ized vested interests in l ding pol t cal parties th nadequacy f the old state u der new c cumsta es had bec me obvi us Federalism if t came would ha e t be ccomp nied by turn t liberalism. It could n t be c mplished w thout a c ns derable dis rupt f established interests U til n w the latter had been abl to frustrate all ttempts that er t their d vantage such as Fritalux, y t every day of disu ity ost Eur pe dear

An mpl ficati f the eview f hist rical f es d ind vidual thinkers who forged n ept f Europe was p ovided by P fessor Ciasca p per As unify g for es h menti d the R man dministrati n, Cha lemagn th H ly R man Emp e nd th medieval synthes Th wars f ligio th R f rmati n d th rise f nat onal mb ti ns tended to dest oy this trend b t ther wer always few figu es who kept th larger is n l S h f exampl wer Erasmus th first writer t condemn wa Henry IV minister Sully who promoted lasting pea based n Christ n ep bli Leibniz th Abbé Saint P err Imma u l Kant a d th e ghteenth c nt ry philosophers p t cula ly M tesquieu Volta e d Burk Later th doctrin of balan f power and E glish infl en n th Co tinent tended t dist rt st ll further th spo taneous orientat n f tates— trend rrested by th post N poleonic Co cert of Eur pe b t rev ed th l ter nin teenth century thr ugh th emergenc f f esh l g nati nal units h as Italy d Germa y It was Ma hia elli wh d f ned Eur pe as a ll tio f individual tates c mbining their everal a d eparat ir ues t p od a uniq creati n rgy the highest express on of whi h was th t d t on f individual libert es—a al d eption t this d y

I th discus that f llowed Pr fess V lse h pointed o t that th dri owa ds united Europe os f om th destruction f ti nal pa ticularism and theref d d n t ha ts oots in history but rather ran counter to t.

I th nd part f the c gress dealing with th ju dical aspects f th European problem, nly p per was presented Profess E C osa c ns dered that th jurid cal p blem f Europea uni lay in the limitat n f o ereignty f th member tates

The idea of national sovereignty in its modern shape a legacy of the French Revolution was the transference of the older attributes of an absolute monarchy to the nation as a whole Yet in the modern state sovereignty was limited internally by individual rights just as before it was limited by democratic pressure the social contract theory and the concept of natural law

The definition of sovereignty must be circular it was simply every juridical act performed by a state of its own free will within the bounds of its constitution and it was as such perfectly consistent with an association of democratic states in a free union Such a union did not like a federal system postulate an internal structure of all member states matching the federal structure nor did it imply a renunciation of national liberties it merely curtailed the power of states to act unilaterally on common problems

The third part of the congress dealt with the economic aspects of the European problem The ideal of a united market of 300 million consumers which had often been put forward as a solution for Europe's economic ills through the example of the United States of America was neither easy to achieve nor necessarily the right answer After 90 years of political unity the economic problem of the depressed South still existed in Italy submitted Professor di Nardi economics and politics did not always go hand in hand

Before any kind of economic union could be inaugurated several conditions had to be fulfilled In the first place there must be a single currency or free currency convertibility This in turn presupposed an equilibrium in the various national balances of payments otherwise the economically weaker states would tend to fall under the domination of the stronger ones There must also be a uniform fiscal policy an internal monetary policy designed to curb inflationary pressure on prices and public investment directed towards increased productivity This problem was complicated by the peculiar situation of Great Britain and her membership of the sterling zone A second condition for economic union was the abolition of all customs barriers which could only be achieved very gradually Other problems were those of a common policy on employment trade cycles and public finance as well as the free movement of labour and the equalization of social security facilities A gradual approach which would tackle the most pressing economic problems first was the most hopeful

Professor Feroldi listed three major prerequisites for European economic unity a supranational political authority an analogous economic authority that would leave member States only a limited amount of freedom of action in the economic sphere and complete currency convertibility At present the two most powerful forces working against economic unity were the distortion of national economies through rearmament and the non complementary nature of national economies To counteract this it was suggested that the criteria governing the supply of industrial products to non European countries be reviewed and intra European exchange be reactivated When production was reorganized to provide for national specialization while allowing for comparative costs both competition and complementarity must be fostered simultaneously A customs union was to be regarded as the ultimate goal but convertibility could only accompany not precede such co-ordination

Finally there was a plea for the necessity of an amalgamation of European peoples introduced by Professor I M Sacco Switzerland for example unlike the USA was a state but not a nation since its peoples did not really coalesce At present there was a need for building labourers in France for miners in England but the exclusionist tactics of governments and trade unions made immigration practically impossible No real European unity could be hoped for until there was a perfectly unhindered flow of people from country to country

In closing the congress Dr Falck expressed the hope that further attention would be devoted to the problem of Europe after the stimulating introduction just given and stressed the importance for Italy of the development in particular of economic studies

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION S ANNUAL MEETING

Fl ce 5 10 April 1954

The I ternati al P l ti l S e Assoc ati h ld ts n al meet g t Fl ence f om Mo day 5 April t S turday 10 Ap l 19 4 S pervis on of the p l m nary arra gements had been put the hands of a comm ttee consisting f p fesso F V t f the Ital A G Maranini Pres dent f the F culty f P l t cal d f th r
Dr
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Th theme l cted f th o d table was 'Te ching a d Resea h n Comp rat e Go ernm t Profess W A. R bson Pres dent f IFSA nd P fes or G H ckscher rapporteur-general hos the foll wi g subjects f discuss n t nat eas South Asia 2B t dies of p rt cula ope and f f gn pol cy 3B political p ties 4A eas M ddl East 3 A. democrat c ont l 4B p liamentary procedure 5A I t ral systems and electi ns 5B nat o l ed ndustries 6 methods f esea h 7 methods of tea hing ntemporary evolut nary movements

The cr tariat f IPSA er ed t tal f 30 papers on th abo bjects Duplicated op es wer dist b ted in d an e t those attending—s m 5 n n mber and epres ti g 3 untries

Th p ning meeting f th und table took place in the Dug nt Room f the Pal zz d lla S gn ria Am g those who ttended nd pok were P ofesso La P a M yor f Fl ence Mr C. Bru P efect f Fl ce, M Lamanna Recto of the Uni ers ty P ofessor W A. Robs d P ofesso G Mara ni

Th und table progr mm f discuss ns occup ed a t tal of 2 me t gs The general eport n the und tabl will be a cons derabl document run ing to bout hund ed printed p ges th task of writi g t has been entrusted to P ofess r Heckscher

It is p posed d course to t p wo king p rty onsisting of 12 t 15 experts to purs th oundtabl co lus ons further th first m et g would be l kely to tak pl ce duri th umm f 19 5

S n f the Ex cut ve Comm tte

Th executi committ f IPSA held f ur meetings at Fl n Th f llowi g members ttended Pr fess W A. R bs n P es dent of IPSA P fessors James K P llock, M Du erg and G H ks her V P es d nts Profess rs B Akzin M B d l D N Chest A. M D nn (epla ing J B ents) S V Kog ka C B Ma pherso d F V t The U esco Dep tm t f Social Sc ences was epresented by Mr G d La harriè Deputy Directo f th Departm nt and Dr K. S czerb Likiernik Head D vis n of Aid t I t rnati nal S ent fic Co-operation.

Am g th main decis ns tak n by th execut committee th f ll wi g

Stockholm or The Third I ternat nal Congress f P litical S en will take pl ce t Stockh lm between 1 nd 27 A gust 1955 The f llow g ubjects ha be n put ts enda th government f larg cities tudies lating to pol t cal p rties (l of party systems in democracy l f publi opini n polls n the study f polit cal

parties ... political implica-tions of development prog... national system

Research programme The executive committee took note of the completion of the investigation into the political role of women (rapporteur general Professor M Duverger France) and into the problems regarding ne v states and international organizat ons (rapporteur general Professor B Akzin Israel) It further considered the investigation into local government in rural communities still proceeding under Professor H Zink Lastly it drew up a programme for the development of political science subject to adequate funds being secured

Publications The executive comm ttee was informed of the condit ons on which Unesco would undertake publication ... General Report on the Teaching of Political Sc ence throughout ... Sc ence B bl o-graphy (whose first number cover ... in 1954) ... al Political The executive comm ttee dec ded to continue publication ... *Science Abstracts* in conjunction with the International Committee for Social Science Documentation It also decided to continue work on a volume presenting a comparative study of the main c vil service systems of the world and on a special number of the *International Social Science Bulletin* devoted to a political science subject of general interest

Expansion of IPSA The executive committee adopted measures to expand the activities and influence of the association in all parts of the world particularly in the countries of Latin America and Asia It was dec ded to undertake a large scale campaign to increase ind v dual and group memberships

Persons wishing to jo n the International Political Science Association as individual members should apply to the associat on s secretariat 27 rue Sa nt Guillaume Paris (VII) The subscript on is U S $6 or the equ valent in other currencies (reduced to $5 or the equivalent for members of any national polit cal sc ence association affil ated to IPSA) Indi idual members are entitled to the regular supply of the circular letter published quarterly by the association and of one of the two follo ving publicat ons *International Social Science Bulletin* *Internat onal Political Science Abstracts*

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION S MEETINGS

Cologne 10-12 June 1954

The Execut ve Comm ttee and members of the Research Committee of the Int rnat onal Soc olog cal Associat on met n Cologne f om 10-12 June 1954 The meet ngs ere held in the Un ersity of Cologne and vere attended by De n G Davy (Un versity of Paris) Professors M G nsberg (London School of Econom cs) L on Wiese (Un rs ty of Cologne) Jessie Bernard (Pennsyl an a State Colleg) A N J d n Hollander (Un ers ty of Amsterdam) D V Glass (London School of Economics) R Koen g (Un ers ty of Cologne) H Schel ky (Un vers ty of Hamburg) T Segerstedt (Uni ers ty of Uppsala) Dr K A Bus a (Univers ty Coll ge of th Gold Coast) Mr Stein Rokkan (Un ersity of Oslo) and the Execut ve Secretary (T B Bottomore London School of Economics) and the Assistant Secretary (Miss E Ado no) R Clémens (Un ers ty of Liège) P de B e (Un versity of Lo a n)

The execut e committee re ewed the act v t es of the ISA s nce the L ège congress

d pp ed the nnual eport f the yea 1953 54 which will be c rcul ted to membe associati ns and d vidual m mbers The committee also pp oved th p blishing in October 1954 the T ansaction f
Th ecuti e
f an nnual es

Social Cha ge n th Twe t th Century' and will be organized n ix sections 1 an 956 It will ha e as ts central theme Problems of gress w ll be held in trod t ry sympos um on th m in f ctors in ocial cha ge d on law and morals el tion t social hang 2 ha ges ec nomic structure particula ly i dustrial organizat and p perty lati ns 3 changes in class struct e 4 changes in the family 5 hanges in ed cation, particul ly th cond tions of access to ed cat n and th ir lati t social mob lity 6 a conclud ng paper and discuss on on the interr l ti ns f thes different types of cha ge

It was decided that o sess of the congress hould be reserved for a discuss on f Soci logy in 1956 ganized n two secti ns one concerned with th devel pment f soc ological esear h and th ther w th the teach f oc logy On the basis of the experienc t the Liège gress the executi e committee established a provisional timetable which will lea time availabl for inf rmal discuss n groups The ma n p pers f th c gress will be by in itatio and they will be printed nd circulated to participants in advanc

Th executi e mmittee als discussed pl ns for the organization of a round table on 'Th middle classes in underdeveloped countries This will take place n the M ddl East in th tumn f 1955 nd will be organized by the ISA n collaborat n w th U es

Th executi e cretary eported o th current cti ities f the ISA, nd part cula th dev lopment f *Current Sociology* on th preparati ns for a sympos um on social ha g in peasa t mmunit es nd an evaluat on of esear h to confl ct and war which is being p ep ed f r U esco P ofesso G nsberg ga e a eport f th U esco meeting f experts on the termin logy f the ocial sc en es nd f the plans for a d cti nary f bas terms.

Th esea h mmittee m mbers discussed th esea ch p ogramme f the ISA They pp oved, d th executi ommittee nfirmed, pl ns for the organizat on f a Thi d W ki g Conferen o Social Stratification nd Social M bil ty to be h ld Amsterdam from 6- 8 December 1954 This nferen e will assess mpleted esear h cons der th extens of esearch to ew eas nd study means of p esenti g som p eliminary cross nati nal mp ris ns The resea ch ommittee members went n t ns der new esearch p posals in particular a p posal subm tted by Pr fesso Segerstedt Dr Eisenstadt d Mr Friis f esea ch in yo th q estions especially th lati f yo th tivities a d youth organizati ns to community participation. It was decided t nv te a number f oci logists t discuss this questio d make pl ns for cross nati nal esearch t th w king nferen t be held in December 1954. Finally th m mbers discussed p opos l f inter-disciplinary esea ch mad by th I tern t nal Social Scien e Council

During their tay in Cologn th d legates vis ted the Unesc Institute fo Social Scien wher they hea d n ount f the institute esea h f om the di ect Dr N ls Anderson. They also met umber f German soc logists at a pecial meeting rranged by P fessors v n W es d Koenig At the lose of their meet gs the d legates ttended ecepti n and dinner gen ously gi en in their h nour by the Oberbuergermeister f Cologn Dr Ernst Schwering

parties relationship between social classes and political affiliations) political implications of development programmes large and small states in the international system

Research programme The executive committee took note of the completion of the investigation into the political role of women (rapporteur general Professor M Duverger France) and into the problems regarding new states and international organizations (rapporteur general Professor B Akzin Israel) It further considered the investigation into local government in rural communities still proceeding under Professor H Zink. Lastly it drew up a programme for the development of political science subject to adequate funds being secured

Publications The executive committee was informed of the conditions on which Unesco would undertake publication of Professor Robson s General Report on the Teaching of Political Science throughout the world and of the International Political Science Bibliography (whose first number covering 1952 is scheduled for publication in 1954) The executive committee decided to continue publication of *International Political Science Abstracts* in conjunction with the International Committee for Social Science Documentation It also decided to continue work on a volume presenting a comparative study of the main civil service systems of the world and on a special number of the *International Social Science Bulletin* devoted to a political science subject of general interest

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The executive committee reviewed the activities of the ISA since the Liège congress

certain subject re eated th platf rm and f r about an ho dev l p p ev ly ar ed theme. The d tails of th discus o a e imp sed but th comm ttee ds th ma n l es Aft th pl tf rm debate the sect n le d rs n the platf rm d

general d cuss on ens es

Th c nferen es ttract great nterest They a co is ed pee l events i this l nd of a titheses

3 Loc l d regi nal units n various places in th Netherla ds Tl es u ts consist f f om fift t tw ty f e members f ery d ergent rel gious nd pol t cal victions whil at th m tim an eff t is made to ch eve as w d soc l epres tati as poss bl

O c m th the p rt p nts ome together t discuss a p e-a n un ed subject I t oductory a d p eliminary spee hes are thus a o ded

Th h t f th r und table wo k is to be found n these un ts

Conclusion Th val e f thus r nd table wo k is calculable Part p nts oft n bel g t groups in which they hold p m nt a d strategic pos t ons W thout a doubt th In th p ess nd meet ngs many hamp on th ll thus to be a

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Th personal o ta ts thus establ hed may w ll be

For th tim being h wever n h uld n t look f pectacula su cesses distrust rehens on a d sep rat on cann t be

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THE THIRD INTER AMERICAN CONGRESS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

La P 2 12 A gust 1954

Th Orga Committee f th Third I ter American Congress on Indian Aff rs h con e f l ded e tems en nd f

tr ted d les di us

Third I ter American Congress n Indian Affa rs bea on import t experiments carried out in Bol via inc 9 April 19 2— f rms whi h ha bas cally ff cted th ountry India popul ti n nat nalizati n f m es l nd eform uni ers l ffrag ed cat nal eform t

Several m nths g th Ministry of R ral Aff irs enlisted the co-oper t n of mo tha 5 Bolivians pecializing in th theo tical and p ct cal aspects f th ubj cts mentioned bo nd al in ther matters nn ted with the Bolivian I di ns Th th rs f m ogr phs n th ubj t will ttend th gress as rapporteurs f their own works nd will ls be bl if pportunity rises t culat th documents they

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands where religious differences and differences in attitude toward life run deep the need for contact between the various groups of the population is more keenly felt than elsewhere

The Dutch people tend to imbue all phenomena of life with a more or less religious or philosoph cal setting Consequently corporations with a confessional bias have been called into being in practically every walk of l fe This applies not only to pol tical parties but also to social organizations employers associations trade unions broad casting corporations and even sports clubs many if not most of them being d ded into Protestant Roman Catholic and neutral groups

The existence of a certain antithesis between the various groups according to the r relig ous or other convictions cannot be denied

Only in the event of great national disasters for instance the war of 1940 45 or the flood of 1953 are the differences momentarily forgotten giving way to a po erful unity

During the second world war in the united struggle against oppression all internal differences were laid aside and many came to think that un ty would henceforth prevail The post war situation however was a source of bitter disappointment It soon became evident that the old antitheses were still there They had only been inact ve temporarily

Yet there were some who during the war had learned something else They had realized the need for better contact with other people and other groups in order to attain to a fuller knowledge and a more correct evaluation of the con ict ons of others

From this need arose the init at ve for that select human means of communicat on a round table discussion Its vanguard was the well known Professor Kohnstamm, who succeeded in bringing together various prominent persons of different convictions Being a man of un versal learning he immediately placed this work on a scholarly level Under his leadersh p an action comm ttee issued a number of reports dealing with toleration and democracy and ultimately instituted the Nederlands Gesprek Centrum (Netherlands Round Table Conference) The NGC has this aim 'The promotion of greater understanding of differing attitudes so that po nts of sim larity and difference may be more accurately assessed

The movement is governed by a curatorium consisting of 60 prominent c tizens of the Netherlands of widely varying sp ritual and pol tical convictions No s gnificant segment of the populat on is excluded There is an execut ve board composed of Professor Dr J H Bavinck chairman and two presidents Dr J C H H de Vink and Dr H B J Waslander On this board the Protestant Roman Cathol c and humanist convict ons are represented

The movement has three levels of operat on

1 Committees of specialists each consisting of approximately n ne persons of divergent convictions who meet regularly for intensive discuss on of a spec fic subject and later issue a report upon it Reports have already appeared on work and property ideals of education the state and culture centralizat on and decentral zat on the political party and the parliamentary system philosophy and faith birth control In preparation are about ten other reports on various subjects

The value of these publ cations s that po nts of agreement and po nts of d fference are always made clear Instead of hadow boxing about purely inc dental matters they contain worthwh le exchanges of views on essentials

2 National conferences These are held three t mes a year Usually about one hundred people of very divergent convict ons assemble all of them enthus ast c supporters of a round table discussion at a h gh level

As a rule members of the comm ttees already mentioned who spec al ze in a

TRAINING OF TECHNICIANS IN MEXICO

On of th major diffi lues ffect g programmes f d to Indians n Mex co has been th la k f adequately tra ned tech cal pers nnel T overc m t the Nat onal n f r Indian Affa rs and th Nat nal S hool of Anth opology ha recently h nology degree c urse. Th academ c t d es r he Co-ord nat g d T rahu

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OGY CO RESS IN PARA A

logical Society took pl ce
organizing mmittee f th gress were E cl des de Mesquita (cha
R bbo M ller nd G bri l Munho da Ra ha (ce-chairmen) Albano W sk (secr tary g eral) Irma Raul and Clemente nd Olga Mattar (ecretaries) Liguaru d Espinto S to (treasurer) nd Ca los Delgad de Carvalho D nald P erson Roger Bastide Od n o Pires Pinto B as l P h r M chad G err o Ramos P t F rreir nd Ant ni M ll F gu ed (members)

INTER AMERICAN ST TISTIC INSTITUTE

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conta ning matter of great val t social est g
All rrespond lati g to this pecialized f ld ho ld be addressed t the Secr tary f th I ter American Statist cal Inst t t Pan Amer n Un Washingt n, 6 D C United States f Amer a

REEMENT TWE NIVERSITIES O ENEZUELA AND WISCO IN

Th Ce tr l U ers ty f Venezu l Caracas has entered t 10-yea agreement with th Uni ers ty f Wis nsin U ted States f Amer f t llectual co-opera ti Th agreem nt is des gned t l e n mber f p blems is g from th exp ns d mod rnizat n f th Uni ers ty f Venez l
ll n vid n greed number f p ofessors

Th pr gramm is being carr ed ut u der th pervis on of Messrs Emil Espos to Jimenez Secr tary f th Un ers ty f Venezu la Homer J Herri tt Dean f th Uni ers ty f Wisc ns nd Georg W H ll espons bl f o-o dination.

have prepared In any case the Congress is always at liberty to add to the agenda at its first sessions any other topics it may consid [illegible]

The proposed agenda is as fol
2 demography of the present
and anthropolog cal features sc

[illegible] ue of American Indians general outline special study of two questions (a) universal suffrage for men and women literate and ill terate (b) possibility of legislat on on an inter American basis covering Ind an [illegible] operat on of spec [illegible]
Indians genera
soc al private a [illegible] artist c and educat onal spec al study of three questions (a) possib lity of adopting a common phonetic alphabet for all American Indian languages (b) util zation of Indian folklore for encouraging the arts (c) experiments in and future outlook for rural education and the education of Indians in general

NEWS FROM LATIN AMERICA [1]

NEW PUBLICATION ON INDIAN STUDIES IN VENEZUELA

The first number has appeared of a new periodical *Boletin Ind genista Vene olano* The ed torial board consists of Brother Cayetano de Carrocera Eduardo Fleury Cuello and Walter Dupouy and the publishers are the Commission for Indian Affairs which is a technical and advisory body of the Ministry of Just ce for the study of Indian questions Address Apartado 2059 Caracas Venezuela

The first number of the bulletin includes several important studies listed in the bibl ographical register of 'Notas e informaciones de C enc as Soc ales All correspondence in connexion w th *Bolet n Ind enista Vene lano* should be add essed to Edific o Italo 4 piso Padre S erra a Muno Caracas Venezuela

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN PROGRESS

Charles E D bble is cont nu ng his o k on the direct translat on of the Sahagun codices Harry Tschop k Jr and Raul d los Rios are collecting material for a study of the soc al anthropology of the Indians of the upper Ama on Evon Z Vogt has spent six months on resea ch in Jalisco Mexico Go don Willey is invest gat ng Maya settlement patterns David DeHarpo t and W ll am Bullard are also w o k ng n the Maya a ea Inez Adams is in estigat ng race and class as soc al cr te n ethnic commun t es in the la ger West Ind n islands and in T in d d Du can strong has concluded ome months esearch in the Ica Nazca area of Southern Peru Joseph A Hester is cont nu ng his research on aboriginal griculture in Yucatan and B t sh Honduras

[1] P printed from *Ciencias Social* periodical p bl hed by h Dep rtm t f Social Sci es f th P Am n U

1890-193 (Willi m N il Sm th) Some new c ncepts rega d ng the cl ff dw ll gs f N Chihuahu and N E S nora (Robert H Lister) Anc nt popul t ns of So thern B j Cal f rn (T D McCown)

SYMPOSIUM O I RI TION CI LIZATIO S

I T cs Ariz na m ltaneously tl th an u l meet ng of tl e Un ted States ~ n sympos m was h ld on tl bject A compa n of tl H Steward and the meet gs n as a basis fo discuss o er) the N ar East (Robert Ang l Palerm had been asked of the discuss on ts lf w ll be

p blished pt ta

BOOKS RECEIVED[1]

— British Afric Weesp

on on rur l onstruc tion w th pr l y n Resea h Pr n ton Uni rs ty xi + 1 p

BELILOS L. *Le F nancier devant le J g* Éd tions Ledis Paris 1954 182 p

BOOZ F A. *F fty y f te hnical assistanc* w th a p f c by Herbert Emmerich x + 6 p

llected texts ed ted by th leg Columbia Uni ers ty

95 ed ted by th Committee n d Science Resea ch Council with a pr la by una Un ers ty P ess New Y k 1954 + 4 p

COMAS J *Lo Co gr I ternacional d Americanistas* Sintesis Historica Ind c B bl ografi o G eral 1875 95 Institut I dig nista I teramerı n Mexi o D F 954 lxxxi + 4 p

D i Ra gkaj Ch Toemenggoe g *W an ta d Ind ne* (W men n I donesia) Penerb t Ch l n Sj msoe J karta d Amsterdam, 120 p

DESC AMP H *Le Rel gions d l'Af que N* P esses Un ers taires d Fr nc Paris 9 4 8 p

ELIAS T O *G undwo k f N gerian Law* with p ef c by J hn Ver ty R utledg d Keg n P ul Lo do 1954 xxx + 374 p

FITZ IB ON R H *Uruguay port t f democracy* Rutgers Uni ers ty Press New Bruns wi k New Jersey 954 ii + 30 p

G

to de nstitut 954

xvi + 53 p

[1] All books and periodical addressed to th Edi or f h I ernational Social S ienc Bulle re added to Unesco brary

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN VENEZUELA

The Institute of P v h
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proper

The c Oliver Brachfeld a native of Hungary who graduated at the Sorbonne and was formerly a professor in Spain Brachfeld is a direct follower of Alfred Adler and is the author of various works published in Spanish and English

NEW PUBLICATION IN TRUJILLO PERU

The Archeological Museum of the Uni
tion of *Chim*
logy Corres rcheological Museum
National Ur u Box 110

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN ARGENTINA

Under the auspices of the Catholic Culture Courses a new school of social sciences has been opened in Buenos Aires Argentina The school offers a four year specialist course with classes in sociology psychology history political and economic sciences and theology Dr José Miguens is one of the professors The address of the school is 1227 Rio Bamba Bueno Aires

FOUNDATION FOR SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IN BAHIA BRAZIL

This important institution has pursued its programme of social
co-operation with Columbia Un
cacao a
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history

Mo e y Professor Harris under the auspices of Columbia University and the National Research Council of the United States are in Brazil preparing a work on anthropological method based on the experience of studying Brazilian communities especially those investigated under the joint State of Bahia Columbia University programme

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

In December 1953 the United States Anthropological Society held its annual meeting in Tucson Arizona Among the works submitted which are connected with Latin America were 'The role of social perception in rural urban change in Brazil (Bernard Siegel) Culture change in San Miguel Acatan Guatemala 1938 1953 (Morris Siegel) The criollo outlook in the mestizo culture of Lima Peru (Ozzie G Simmons) On the survival of certain aboriginal American groups Venezuela (Thomas McCorkle) Seriational problems in the moch t
T Walla
R
sout story of the Seri Indians

IV OPEN ΓORUM

PERSONALITY DYNAMICS AND THE TENDENCY TOWARDS STEREOTYPY [1]

R GORDON

It is the object of this paper to report and to discuss an investigation concerning the poss ble relationship between the structure and dynamics of personality and the tendency to form and hold stereotyped ideas and attitudes As a workin definition I have rega ded as stereotyped mental constructs those mages concepts beliefs and attitudes which are essentially rigid and change resist n and which tend to represent the facts with which they are concerned in an oversimplified form. These stereotyped mental constructs are here distinguished from what has been described as stereotypes and which have he e been regarded as cons sting of those images concepts and attitudes posses ed and acc pted as more or less true by the majority of the members f a social group an individual can theref e be said to possess them only in o far as he shares in the social myths of his group In both instances stereotype efers to such characteristics as persistence repetition and invariability of mental construct but in the case of stereotypes it is a question of the sp ead and distribution of a concept o er a multiplicity of human units hile in the case f stereotyped mental constructs the spread and distribution f a concept ov a multipl city of time units is in question.

The genesis f stere types in the indi idual is likely to differ from the g nesis f pers nal te otyped mental constructs the former being p domin ntly functi n f the lationsh p of the individual to his group whil the latt result f m the int r relationsh p of objects and f rces inside the individual It is true that v he e soc ety offers a variety of constructs and d ol gies as s the case in modern soc ety the ste eotypes possessed by an individual m y in fact effect his personality and its needs and problems Ho ever e en he e the contribution of personality factors is likely to be less important than in the case of personal c nstructs for the acceptance of a eady made c gnitive pattern involves less self exp ession than does the cr tion of a new one furthermore the acceptance of a ste eotype is likely t satisfy an individual s need fo int gration int a ... an

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[1] O his subject ... onal Stereo ypes and In ernational U derstand g pecial umber f th Bulletin, vol. III no. 3.

GIRARD A BOGART L CENTRE CATHOLIQUE DES INTELLECTUELS FRANÇAIS LE PIEPUR T DE BOUSQUET M H *Français et Immigrés* II *Nouveaux Documents sur l adaptation Algeriens Italiens Polonais le service social d aide aux émigrants* with a preface by Alfred Sauvy Cahier no 20 de l Institut National d Études démographiques Presses Universitaires de France Paris 1954 293 p

HANRAHAN G Z *The communist stru gle in Malaya* with a preface by V Purcell Internat onal Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relat ons New York 1954 146 p

KARVE I *Kinship organization in India* Deccan College Monograph Series Poona 1953 viii + 304 p

MAJUMAR B B *Problems of public administration in India* Pustak Mahal Chauhatta Patna 1954 iii + 310 + ix p

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The Murray T A T was interpreted on the third that is the unconscious level according to psychoanalytical concepts in an attempt to uncover the subjects primary reaction patterns The records were also dealt with on the second level—as defined by Murray—with the object of obtaining information regarding the subjects character traits or as they may be described the secondary and derived reaction patterns In this second analysis special attention was paid to four traits which appeared to be of particular relevance to stereotypy the tendency to project the tendency to be extrapunitive the degree of aggress vity the degree of a general sense of security or insecurity

As a check a colleague carried out an independent analysis of the T A T records and results were then compared

The belief test had been constructed in order to sample the nature of the beliefs adopted by any particular subject concerning a number of different top cs Questions v ere asked about the race problem economic crises women nations social classes etc. In constructing this test a compromise v as attempted ~n ~ qualifications v hich such a test should satisfy — ~ true a picture uals Therefore a choice of ans ers to each quest on ~ being required t k th ne that most nearly corresponded to his o vn views There was ~ n h h the subject could ı of the 10 main

The first was designed to gi e a impr and form of the op n on held In the second it was hoped to learn something about the reasons which had led to the format on of the particular op nion The third was concerned with the a e f the op nion The fourth however was constructed so as to constitute a special method to assess the degree of conviction and emot onalism p es nt as a const tuent of any belief This last section therefore consisted of a provocat ve answer to the test question to v hich again a number of react ons were offered to the ubject This sect on v as cons dered to be of espec al importance and the esults have ind cated that any discrepancy between the scores obtained from the first and the fourth sections is significant

To deal with the results a scoring key had to be devised For this purpose fou jud es ve e sked to rate each question on a five point scale a score of one indicating low stereotyping Three c iter a for the existence of stereotypy wer given to guide th jud es personification over s mplification emotional ty

Thus for each subject a total stereotypy score could be calculated as well as a core fo ste otypy shown in response to all the first sections of the 10 questi ns and a s parate ste eotypy score for responses to all the fourth se t ns of the 10 quest ns

RESULTS

Th princ pal results obta ned f om this invest gat on can be summarized as follo vs

It w h wn that the tendency to possess stereotyped mental constructs was f equently ccompanied by the continued p esence of unsolved O d pus c nfli ts—10 out of the 14 subjects with high stereotypy scores

14

THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES CONCERNING IT

Th
I ... ors causing stereotypy
o ... ight be summarized as follows
Primarily cognition serv ...
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(... possible if cognition is to
s ... facts events and our human knowledge about them are in a continuous flux those conceptualizations which are in their very nature rigid and immobile are doomed sooner or later to fall short of the function they should above all fulfil In order to explain their presence one might suggest that they subserve a purpose other than the adaptation of the individual to his environment Since individuals have to find solutions to two main conflict situations—the conflicts between their own needs and demands as against the exigencies of the external world and the conflicts which are played out intrapsychically between their various and often opposing needs and emotions—one might assume that the function of stereotyped mental constructs is essentially concerned with the working out of the second type of conflict

The actual manner in which they serve the individual to assuage the intra psychic conflicts might be conceived as taking on three main forms First they may help to preserve a psychological equilibrium in cases where the balance of mental forces is so precarious that exposure to the impact of the changes and oscillations even of everyday life would endanger the total personality structure Secondly any particular stereotyped construct may exist as a result of a process of projection designed to protect its owner against the awareness of impulses desires and phantasies within him which may be regarded by one of his mental institutions such as for example the ego or the super ego as repellent and distasteful Finally the stereotyped mental content may be felt as in itself pleasureable and enjoyable because it satisfies though more or less vicariously some need or needs which have had to remain unsatisfied

Thus the tendency to possess stereotyped mental concepts can be regarded as symptomatic of neuroticism since it involves a lack of ability to carry out the primary function of cognition and since furthermore it involves that curtailment of the freedom and flexibility of the ego which Otto Fenichel has described as characteristic of a psychopathological condition However stereotypy of mental concepts is likely to be only one of several alternative methods with which an individual can fight off intrapsychic tension and imbalance and hence the absence of stereotypy does not necessarily prove the existence of mental health

PROCEDURE AND TESTS USED

In order to throw some light upon these various problems an experiment was carried out in which 30 adult education students were given the Murray Thematic Apperception Test a specially constructed belief test

The results obtained were then carefully analysed and compared

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14

being over concerned with that primary three body relationship the basic problems of low stereotypers on the other hand were usually concerned with the conflict between libidinal and super ego strivings

2 A high stereotypy score was found to be most decidedly associated with the presence of marked aggressive tendencies and with the predominance of projection as a principal defence mechanism The relationship between stereotypy and extra punitiveness and a sense of security or insecurity was not quite so marked

3 A correlation was found to exist between the general belief pattern of a person and the central theme of his basic conflicts Thus subjects with unsolved Oedipus conflicts tended to over emphasize differences and conflicts in social life people who phantasied an identification with the parent of the opposite sex tended to underemphasize differences in social life while Socialists were preoccupied in their phantasy with the problem of property and its acquisition

4 A small difference was found to exist between high and low stereotypers on the basis of the reasons they cited as responsible fo th [illegible]

5 High and low stereotypers could not be distinguished by the age of their concepts and beliefs although they differed in their ability to provide information about this high stereotypers seemed to find it much more difficult to determine the approximate date when their beliefs developed

6 No generalized spread of stereotypy over the whole attitude system of a person could be found in this study

DISCUSSION AND AN ATTEMPTED EXPLANATION OF THE RESULTS

The interrelationship of basic personality problems and the tendency to develop stereotyped attitudes appears to be the most important result obtained in this investigation the underlying reason for this association can only be guessed at at this stage

Thus the Oedipus situation it might be postulated is the earliest social situation being the first three body relationship of which the child is aware henceforward the question which guided his actions and reactions Will I or won t I be attended to and satisfied? becomes elaborated and complicated into the question Who shall satisfy whom and at whose expense? Also it is in the Oedipus stage that the child experiences very strong feelings—aggression jealousy envy and hatred as well as love—and he is thus tempted for intellectual as well as emotional reasons to project these affects on to people and events in the world outside him he will then be led to conceive of life as one great struggle between rivals A person is likely to continue to view social life under this aggressive and disruptive aspect if he has remained fixated at that particular level One may expect that the affects are then even more turbulent and violent than is usual in the normal child for their persistence in an adult betrays that in his case the situation either for external or internal reasons has been particularly intense and unfavourable to any resolution of the conflict

The conflict of lo\ stereotypers it had been found \ as one which raged betn een the various mental institutions such as the super ego ... per ego r quires amongst ... niques and

principal conclus ons ... h rv that the person with a neu o ... r other assumes ... d to certain ... and ... hen ... sm ... ep-

for the neurou is ... tualization p ocesses as \ ell as over his affective life and bel a

Carryin, our speculations a step further and remember ng that anx ety is one of the most dominant features of neuros s \ e might also postulate that ... d a defence against anx ety when this

... blem of guilt and the control of ... fence mechanisms are l kely to be

mploy d

VALUE A D FUNCTION OF STEREOTYPY

St re typy therefor can be c ns dered as an analges c devised by the mind t protect itself against anxiety that is pain. Yet from the biological point f iew pa n must be regarded as a useful danger signal which informs the rganism of any disharmony that might exist in its exte nal or internal environ ment Hence it may be m re beneficial if man can accept and tolerate a certain am unt of p in rather than be over concerned vith the search for p tectiv techniques

It may be th t a certain degree f stereotypy i necessary for effective living and fo the maint n nc of soc al cohesion. Ne ertheless excessive rig dity is likely t lead to ultimat stunting degeneration and the extinction of both an d idual a oc l group—much as speci lization has often done in the ourse of evolution.

OSSIBLE IETHODS OF CONTROLLING THE DEVELOPMENT OF STEREOTYPY

The rem dy against the enc oachment f a p ocess of stereotyping in the case of ndi iduals it may be suggested might be sought n the following conditions

1 A minimizing of social t ess and unrest o as to a o d rous n excessive anxi ty nd th eby th temptat on to turn to ste eotypy as a method of def n e

being over concerned with that primary three body relationship the basic problems of low stereotypers on the other hand were usually concerned with the conflict between libidinal and super ego strivings

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4 A small difference was found to exist between high and low stereotypers on the basis of the reasons they cited as responsible for their beliefs high stereotypers tending in general to give a slightly greater number of reasons low stereotypers very much more frequently than high stereotypers cited personal contact events in their lives and study as responsible for their views

5 High and low stereotypers could not be distinguished by the age of their concepts and beliefs although they differed in their ability to provide information about this high stereotypers seemed to find it much more difficult to determine the approximate date when their beliefs developed

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2 An education system and a family background which facilitates the personality development to such a point that there is an ego sufficiently secure to tolerate a certain amount of anxiety

3 The inculcation of a desire for truth and accurate information however painful it may be and however much it may upset any practical considerations social allegiances or pet myths

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